

Patton on the Occupation
(from *The Patton Papers*, 1974)
by Martin Blumenson

THE PATTON PAPERS

1940-1945

MARTIN BLUMENSON



ILLUSTRATED WITH PHOTOGRAPHS
AND WITH MAPS BY SAMUEL H. BRYANT

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CHAPTER 39

The Growing Bitterness

"One cannot help but feel that Berlin marks the final epitaph of what should have been a great race."

UNUSUALLY DEPRESSED, his *joie de vivre* having temporarily abandoned him, Patton tried to settle down to live with the grim fact that he had fought his last campaign. Was then his destiny fulfilled? Had he accomplished all that had been reserved for him? Or would there be one last battle still, one last meeting of arms to decide the fate of civilization?

The Potsdam Conference was in session, and Harry Truman, Clement Attlee, and Joseph Stalin were trying to remake and reorder the new world. But Patton suspected that the results they accomplished would be different from and much less perfect than those he wished to see.

As he told Beatrice later:

At Potsdam I was just a visitor but later had long talks with George [Marshall] and Harry [Stimson]. Hap Arnold is the only one who understands the Mongols except me. But the rest are waking up.

Major General Floyd Parks, who commanded the U.S. troops in the Berlin Military District, telephoned during the evening of July 19. The Secretary of War, he said, was to review the 2d Armored Division and wanted very much to have Patton with him.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, July 21, 1945

I left here at 0630 and got there in two hours and a half. We could have gone faster but for the fact that if one flies over Russian occupied territory, they shoot at you — nice friends. The review was great...

Drove to Potsdam and saw the palace you, Nita, my self, and the family visited in 1912...

The place was not hurt but all the furniture and rugs have been taken by the Mongols.

We also saw Berlin which is not nearly as much bashed in as represented.

The Mongols are a bad lot, even the U.S. sector has their guards in it, and I had to have a pass. However, I did not need it. I just pointed to my [Russian] medal and the world was mine...

Berlin gave me the blues. We have destroyed what could have been a good race and we [are] about to replace them with Mongolian savages. And all Europe will be communist.

It's said that for the first week after they took it, all women who ran were shot and those who did not were raped. I could have taken it had I been allowed.

Harry [Stimson] looks tired...

George [Marshall] was most friendly, almost gushing.

I also saw the President who was nice.

We now have Wacks. Mine is a secretary.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to sister Nita, July 21, 1945

I am very much afraid that Europe is going to go Bolshevik, which, if it does, may eventually spread to our country.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Codman, July 21, 1945

One cannot help but feel that Berlin marks the final epitaph of what should have been a great race. I really do not see how they can recover, particularly in view of the activities of some of our Allies, and I am not at all sure that we are not stepping out of the frying pan into the fire by concurring in what is going on. However, this is a personal opinion which probably nobody else shares.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, July 24, 1945

Felix [of Luxembourg] spent the night. He is very gloomy over the future of Europe. So are all thinking men who are not running for office.

Patton was happy to go to Prague to receive a decoration from the Czech government at the hands of President Beneš.

A young officer being tried for killing prisoners of war cited Patton's

instructions in his defense. Queried by the theater Judge Advocate, Patton replied:

I made it a habit to talk to every division prior to its going into battle. In all these talks, I emphasized the necessity for violent offensive action, and also the necessity for the proper treatment of prisoners of war, both as to their lives and property. My usual statement was . . . "Kill all the Germans you can, but do not put them up against a wall and kill them. Do your killing while they are still fighting. After a man has surrendered, he should be treated exactly in accordance with the Rules of Land Warfare, and just as you would hope to be treated if you were foolish enough to surrender . . . Americans do not kick people in the teeth after they are down." . . . I have no apologies or excuses to make for any statement which I have made to troops in combat.

To the editors of a division history, he wrote:

Divisions have souls which they inherit. They have characteristics which they pass on . . . [I] urge you to transmit to future members, those magnificent fighting qualities which you have ever demonstrated.

He flew to Frankfurt on August 1 to accept Eisenhower's invitation to dinner. They dined alone,

and I learned some interesting facts, particularly what impelled him to order us to halt short of the Moldau River when we could so easily have advanced that far . . . The same hold order of course applied also to the Ninth and First Armies.

It seems that when Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin were in Teheran in the fall of 1943, Churchill was convinced that even in the unlikely event of the Allies being able to make a landing on the Continent, they would never be able to cross the Rhine River, and he therefore persuaded FDR to go along with him in asking Stalin to have the Russians capture Berlin and Vienna and gave the Russians a line about a hundred miles west of Berlin. Later when we were going along well and could easily have taken Berlin, Churchill asked Ike to do it, and Ike replied by stating that it was Churchill's fault that the line had been established where it was. I believe this was a great

mistake on his part because, had we taken the country to the Moldau River and Berlin, we would have saved a great deal of agricultural Germany and prevented what I believe historians will consider a horrid crime and great loss of prestige in letting the Russians take the two leading capitals of Europe.

Telling Beatrice of his evening with Eisenhower, Patton said he "learned the inwardness of quite a few things. He did not have a bed of roses either."

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, August 6, 1945

I am much upset about [opposition at home to] universal service. If we don't have it, we are sunk and soon too. The President now talks of doing it [being prepared] with the N. [National] G. [Guard] — will we never learn?

If there ever was a war breeder, it is the Europe of today. Russia is just like the French Republic of 1870. Germany is out. The Checks hate every one. The French are communistic. The British fools. And we, God knows.

Diary, August 8

Gay and I flew to Hanau to inspect and say goodbye to the 6th Armored Division . . . Only 2,500 of the original . . . men were present. In spite of this, the soldiers, more than 12,000, put on a really good show, which proves that the spirit of a unit is something beyond and outside the personnel composing it. Also, that troops who are veterans are good in any unit. However, this virtue of being a veteran does not last after the man has got soft and forgotten his military training, so we cannot base our trust in any future army on the fact that we have some eleven or twelve million veterans to call upon.

At the close of the ride around and before the march past, the massed colors of the division were brought to the front, and I had an opportunity to decorate them and also some officers and men. The ceremony was new to me and very pretty. I will try to have it repeated in other units.

At the close of the Sicilian Campaign I talked to a group of officers from each division . . . to obtain from the men who did it, the means they used to fight, because having studied war since I was about sixteen years old, I have only come across some twelve books which deal

with fighting, although there are many hundreds which deal with war. This is because the people who fight either are killed or are inarticulate.

With this end in view, I talked to a selected group . . . and intend to repeat it . . .

Of course, the horrid thought obtrudes itself that, in spite of my efforts — which will probably be filed and forgotten — the tactics of the next war will be written by someone who never fought and who acquired his knowledge by a meticulous study of the regulations of this and the last World War, none of which were ever put into practice in battle. However, I console myself with the thought that I have, in so far as the ability within me lay, done my damndest.

But it seems very queer that we invariably entrust the writing of our regulations for the next war to men totally devoid of any but theoretical knowledge. In this war we were also unfortunate in that our high command in the main consisted of staff officers who, like Marshall, Eisenhower, and McNarney, had practically never exercised command. I think it was this lack of experience which induced them to think of and treat units such as divisions, corps, and Armies as animated tables of organization rather than as living entities.

Lieut. General Bishop Gowlina of the Polish Army came to see me and stayed to lunch. He is a very bright man, speaks perfect English, and hates the Russians with reason. He told me some of their methods . . .

According to the Bishop, more than two million Poles have been taken to Russia for slave labor. In every case . . . they split families . . .

The difficulty in understanding the Russian is that we do not take cognizance of the fact that he is not a European but an Asiatic and therefore thinks deviously. We can no more understand a Russian than a Chinaman or a Japanese and, from what I have seen of them, I have no particular desire to understand them except to ascertain how much lead or iron it takes to kill them. In addition to his other amiable characteristics, the Russian has no regard for human life and is an all out son of a bitch, a barbarian, and a chronic drunk.

Strange to say, I had a letter from General Sibert [12th Army Group G-2] on the question of the Russians, so that apparently for the first time in his career, he is on a good scent.

After the Bishop left, a Mr. G. A. Kemper whom I used to know in Hawaii . . . called. He is now mayor of a town in the British zone

and states . . . that he came to Germany in 1936 as a representative of Woolworth . . . Being not a Nazi, according to himself, he was run out of business but was not jailed. He made some remarks which to me sounded sensible to the effect that our military government is handicapped by the necessity of using dug-out Germans — that is, Germans who are so definitely anti-Nazi that they have not held any office since 1933, and are therefore not only inexperienced in current methods of government but are more or less old, whereas the whole cry is for youth.

Under our rules, which demand the total deNazification of Germany, we have to remove everyone who has ever expressed himself in any way as a Nazi or who has paid party dues. It is very evident that anybody who was in business, irrespective of his real sentiments, had to say he was a Nazi and pay dues. The only young people who were not Nazis came out of the internment camps and are therefore either Jews or Communists. We are certainly in a hard position as far as procuring civil servants is concerned.

These were the themes that would occupy his thoughts, poison his mind, and increasingly embitter his outlook during the remaining few months of his life: the managers like Eisenhower and Bedell Smith had been and still were the prominent and powerful persons, and they no longer needed the fighters like Patton; the Russians were unscrupulous beasts who would dominate Europe because they knew what they wanted and because the United States, the only nation strong enough to oppose them, was uninterested, even unaware of their purpose and methods; and denazification was wrong.

Eventually he would come to abhor the American immediate postwar policies, which he believed were the result of a conspiracy of international bankers and labor leaders and Jews and Communists, all of whom were working for the downfall of the United States. Too many changes, it seemed to him, were transforming the world into something alien to his upbringing and social outlook.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, August 10, 1945

Well the war is over. We just heard that Japan had quit. Now the horrors of peace, pacafism, and unions will have unlimited sway. I wish I were young enough to fight in the next one. It would be . . . [great] killing Mongols.

I suppose poor George [his son] is all broken up. I would be in his case. Tell him that if I am here in June [when he graduated] I will get a special dispensation and have you and he over for ten days and we will drive all over the campaigns. It would be fun . . .

Last time a war stopped I wrote a poem . . . Now I feel too low. It is hell to be old and passé and know it.

Diary, August 10

Another war has ended and with it my usefulness to the world. It is for me personally a very sad thought. Now all that is left to do is to sit around and await the arrival of the undertaker and posthumous immortality. Fortunately, I also have to occupy myself with the de-Nazification and government of Bavaria . . .

I have arranged to have wood cut by the Germans and by prisoners of war so that all the cities of Bavaria will have sufficient wood to heat at least one room for every family. This project is proceeding quite well except in the case of the Displaced Persons who are too worthless to even cut wood to keep themselves warm.

We have also started, by the use of German prisoner of war Signal personnel, to restore German commercial telephone lines. In addition to this, we are working to re-establish railway, canal, and road communications — primarily as a means of redeploying our own troops . . .

I have to occupy myself with inspecting every division, particularly those ordered to the United States . . . I have inspected some ten or twelve divisions at the rate of approximately three a week. In every case, I make a speech along . . . [the same] lines.

It often appeared to be an empty exercise, for even here the old magic was gone. According to George Fisher, who accompanied Patton on one of these trips, the division was lined up and waiting at the airfield when Patton's plane landed.

With the precision of a familiar maneuver the General hit the ground, strode a few paces, and mounted a platform that had been set up for the purpose . . . Patton, resplendent as always, proceeded to give the troops the works.

He never talked very long and he certainly followed no conventions of finished oratory. He would start off rather slowly, and his squeaky, high-pitched voice did not carry very well . . .

I had the personal feeling that the General regularly got himself punch-drunk with profanity. His sulphurous son-of-a-bitching, I thought, was a habit he had permitted himself to form in days when there might have been some reason for him to strike a pose . . .

The reaction of the troops was somewhat mixed. There were many, of course, to whom roughness of oral intercourse was normal and habitual, and it was Patton's habit to act as if this were true of every man in uniform . . .

Stripped of bitching and damning, Patton's farewell to the troops came down to something like this: You have served with the greatest group of soldiers ever assembled anywhere at any time . . . Never forget that you are heroes. And if any civilian — here one must fall back into Pattonese — and if any goddamned civilian ever tries to make fun of your uniform, you are to knock the son of a bitch down . . .

Patton was eternally ready to fight; and if there was no enemy in front of him, there were still some lily-livered civilians back home to be attended to.

But . . . these men who were on their way back home had their own notions about how the civilian situation in the States should be handled. They were willing enough to have their Army commander remind them of the glories of their service under him, but as for the future — well, they had come to a parting of the ways with Patton and all that he stood for . . .

Patton was forever preaching a gospel of warfare that was somehow alien and antipathetic to young Americans who had reluctantly and only temporarily suffered themselves to become soldiers. If in North Africa and Sicily they had listened gravely to his words, it was because they had to . . . [Later] they began to see that Patton was a consistent winner. That was the true basis of Patton's esteem among the rank and file of Third Army. As the war progressed, he was . . . an eagerly followed commander — not because of his theatrics but simply because he had demonstrated beyond question that he knew how to lick Germans better than anybody else.

. . .

Denazification was proceeding satisfactorily. All the clergymen in the American zone had been screened by mid-July, and those without Nazi affiliations were cleared. The work of eradicating Nazi street names and

memorials was practically complete. Former Nazis had been excluded from industrial concerns and businesses, as well as removed from the professions. By early August, telephone, telegraph, and radio workers were almost all checked. Soon the German financial institutions would be similarly purged.

On October 11, Stimson was quoted in the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune* as saying that the Nazi party in the American zone had been eradicated and that German administrators, "purged of Nazi membership and influence," were gradually superseding American military administrators.

On the same day, Patton was suggesting that Eisenhower pass "a word to the people responsible for civil government" to go more slowly on denazification. Too many trained administrators, Patton said, were being removed and too many inexperienced and inefficient officials were being put into office. As for Nazism, he repeated his observation:

It is no more possible for a man to be a civil servant in Germany and not have paid lip service to Naziism than it is for a man to be a postmaster in America and not have paid at least lip service to the Democratic Party or Republican Party when it is in power.

His refusal to distinguish between Democrats and Republicans on the one hand and Nazis on the other — to say nothing of his slander of the American civil-service system — indicated that he had missed the whole point of the struggle insofar as American public opinion was concerned. His failure to understand a large part of the moral foundation underlying the American support of the war effort would lead to his downfall and disgrace.

All he could see was the little German, the man in the street, whose only responsibility for Nazism was his unwillingness to comprehend its evil.

"I am raising the devil," he wrote Beatrice, "to get enough wood cut to keep the people from freezing this winter."

Four days later, Eisenhower reminded the Third and Seventh Armies that "Nazis should not be allowed to retain wealth, power, or influence merely because they do not hold public office."

Diary, August 18

In a letter from Beatrice today she stated that Gerow is to get [that is, to be Commandant of] the [Army] War College. This is too bad, as he was one of the leading mediocre corps commanders in Europe and only got the Fifteenth Army because he was General Eisenhower's personal friend. With the War College gone, there is nothing open to me so far as now seems available. However, things have looked gloomy before and something has always turned up.

At the request of General Juin, I flew to Paris and today returned to the French at the Invalides six sets of colors taken from the French in the war of 1870. It was quite a colorful ceremony . . . There was a crowd of several thousand people and much cheering for Patton. On the way back, Charles de Vaux, the son of Mme. de Vaux, my old friend at Langres, was very nearly shot by the escort when he rushed out to shake my hand.

At dinner with General Juin the remarkable statement was made by him to me that, "It is indeed unfortunate, my General, that the English and the Americans have destroyed in Europe the only sound country — and I do not mean France — therefore the road is now open for the advent of Russian Communism."

The use of the atomic bomb against Japan was most unfortunate because now it gives a lot of vocal but ill-informed people — mostly fascists, communists, and s.o.b.'s assorted — an opportunity to state that the Army, Navy, and Air Forces are no longer necessary as this bomb will either prevent war or destroy the human race. Actually, the bomb is no more revolutionary than the first throwing-stick or javelin or the first cannon or the first submarine. It is simply, as I have often written, a new instrument added to the orchestra of death which is war.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, August 18, 1945

I was particularly sorry you were not around yesterday. Juan asked me to come to Paris to hand back some French flags we had taken from the Germans . . .

Yesterday he and I drove to the Invalides in an open car with much screaming of sirens . . .

We then drove to the Arch de Triumph where there was a large crowd, quite a few thousand . . . After playing both national anthems, I took a wreath which cost me \$100.00 and kneeling on one

knee put it on the tank. Then they played "to the dead." Then I signed the Golden Book — France is full of them.

I think giving Gerow the W. C. [War College] is a joke. He was the poorest corps commander in France . . . I guess there is nothing left for me but the undertaker. However, after when the future seemed bleak I have lit on my feet — heres hoping. I can always resign.

General Herr, former Chief of Cavalry, replied to Patton's letter:

Reference your Parthian shot about my not accepting command of the Armored Corps, I will counter by saying the Cavalry might also be in better position than it now is if you had not refused command of the 1st Cavalry Division. Anyway Marshall would never have given me the power that was essential to command, and am sure that I could never have tolerated him and his evasive methods.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Frederick Ayer, August 21, 1945

The advent of the atomic bomb was no more startling than was the act of the first man who picked up a rock and bashed out the brains of another man, thereby spoiling the age-old method of fighting with teeth and toe-nails. Certainly the atomic bomb was not as startling as the first cannon or the first gasoline motor or the first submarine. I am not decrying the intelligence of those who devised it, but I am decrying the lack of intelligence of those who will use it as a means of making our country defenseless. The only way to stop atomic bombing of a country by self-propelled bombs, which is what we will get at the beginning of the next war, is to be able to invade the country sending the bombs and destroy their place of construction. We have proved definitely that you cannot put factories out from the air. As a matter of fact, I know considerably more about the bomb than I am at liberty to state, but . . . the Germans had not progressed anywhere with theirs and they were using a different atom; namely, hydrogen.

He went to Salzburg as the guest of Clark and Keyes, then at St. Martin witnessed a demonstration by the dressage team from Vienna's Spanish Riding School and their famous Lipizzaner horses.

On the same day that Bedell Smith telephoned to congratulate the

Third Army on the progress of its denazification program, Patton's chief of staff, Gay, was issuing a somewhat ambiguous memorandum to the Third Army G-5, the staff officer concerned most directly with the occupation and government of Germany. Gay told him to be sure to comply with the regulations and with the established policies but to use care and discretion; borderline cases who were good administrators or good technicians, he seemed to be saying, were to be given a break.

On August 22, Eisenhower reminded the Eastern and Western Military Districts to provide stateless persons with high standards of accommodations and to care for Jews in special Jewish centers. "Wherever necessary," he said, "suitable accommodations will be requisitioned from the German population."

More specifically on August 23, Eisenhower advised Patton that "obliteration" of Nazism was a major United States war aim and that a Joint Chiefs of Staff directive, which he cited, clearly prohibited the retention of Nazis for administrative necessity, convenience, or expediency. Denazification, he warned Patton, was "a most delicate subject both here and at home" which "our governmental representatives as well as newspapers have been quick to seize upon."

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Col. Hugh H. McGee, New York, August 23, 1945

In my opinion and strictly for your private ear, we never had a better chance of producing another war than we have in Europe now. I have never seen so much vitriolic hatred, mistrust, and avarice as exists here today. Furthermore, as you know, a certain proportion of the people with whom we are dealing do not have Occidental minds which makes it even more difficult if not impossible to come to an understanding with them. I doubt if the top blows off very soon, but unless something very radical happens and happens within a reasonable time, the top will blow off, probably after we have redeployed our army.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, August 23, 1945

I feel very let down but am still very busy and will be for a month or two more . . .

The atomic bomb was most unfortunate and may be the means of destroying our country. Also the radio said this morning that C.I.O. Murray [the labor leader] wants a bigger "New Deal" — where in

Hell do they think money comes from? or do they simply want to destroy our form of government and go communist? If they knew as much about Russia as I do, they would not be so crazy to be communists.

On the following day he wrote Beatrice that a man who said he knew William Wood, the husband of Beatrice's eldest half sister,

came to see me to day with the most fantastic stories about the Mongols. The trouble is I am inclined to believe them. He is very anti-Jew. Is he a Jew? Can he be trusted?

Later that day he wrote again to Beatrice:

I heard a lot more about those unmitigated bastards the Mongols . . . No one takes the least interest except that the Germans and the Poles hope to fight on our side and soon. The M's will not take over all Europe until we have reduced [our military forces] to about 6 divisions, then they will.

On August 26, the Third Army requested permission to discontinue arrests of Nazis in the lowest category of party officials coming under the regulation that required automatic detention; and to release those being held in prison awaiting trial — or as the letter said, "without trial," which implied an un-American procedure.

Diary, August 27

I attended the Military Government meeting at Frankfurt. There were a number of speeches by General Eisenhower and his various assistants, all of which were unrealistic and in every case the chief interest of the speaker was to say nothing which could be used against him. It is very patent that what the Military Government is trying to do is undemocratic and follows practically Gestapo methods. It is very probable, to me it seems evident, that the doctrines being executed or attempted are those promulgated by Morgenthau at the Quebec Conference which were not approved by either the Secretary of War or the Secretary of State. It was the meeting in which Morgenthau and later Roosevelt, copying him, stated that Germany was to be [de-industrialized and demilitarized and] made into an agricultural

state. It is patently impossible for Germany to be an agricultural state. First, because there is not enough in Germany for the country to feed itself on such a basis, and, second, because if Germany has no purchasing power, we will not be able to sell our goods to her and, therefore, our markets will be very considerably restricted.

If any [news]paper opposed to the Democrats should get hold of the stuff that is being put out by those in charge of the Military Government of Germany, it could produce very bad results for the Democratic government [in Washington].

I stated that in my opinion Germany was so completely blacked out that so far as military resistance was concerned they were not a menace and that what we had to look out for was Russia. This caused considerable furore.

Referring to the Third Army letter mailed on the previous day, Patton proposed releasing some of the interned Nazis, "many of whom," he said, "were either aged or pregnant." Whether this was a joke or merely his extravagant language, it made a poor impression on his colleagues.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, August 27, 1945

I have been at Frankfurt for a civil government conference. If what we are doing is "Liberty, then give me death."

I can't see how Americans can sink so low. It is semitic, and I am sure of it.

Diary, August 29

Today we received a letter . . . in which we were told to give the Jews special accommodations. If for Jews, why not Catholics, Mormons, etc? I called up General Bull, Deputy Chief of Staff for Eisenhower, and called his attention to possible repercussions but got nowhere. He simply stated that he had investigated it and that the letter had considerable background. Naturally I intend to carry out the instructions to the limit of my capacity in spite of my personal feelings against them and in spite of my fear that in doing such things we will lay ourselves open to just criticism.

We are also turning over to the French several hundred thousand prisoners of war to be used as slave labor in France. It is amusing to recall that we fought the Revolution in defense of the rights of

man and the Civil War to abolish slavery and have now gone back on both principles.

In a letter of instructions to the Third and Seventh Armies dated August 31, USFET warned that the care of displaced persons remained a major military objective. In many instances, Germans living near the DP camps were immeasurably better off. "Where this is so, military government is not doing its job." No DPs were to be lodged in tents after September 15, even if German civilians had to be moved from their homes in order to make them available to the DPs.

On the same day, the Third Army issued a bulletin stating that denazification was causing hardships by paralyzing essential services. The removal of so many laboratory technicians from their jobs was provoking the spread of typhoid; the exclusion of so many forestry experts from employment was leading to a fuel shortage.

Something was obviously out of kilter. USFET and the Third Army seemed to be operating on different wavelengths.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, August 31, 1945

I am going to quit the army when I leave here or so I think now . . .

Ike and George [Marshall] and some others of the union know where people are going but they never tell me. I see no job that I could take. But I have been at a dead end before and have gotten out O.K. Something may turn up. Any how we have the boat and the new horses . . .

The stuff in the papers about fraternization is all wet . . . All that sort of writing is done by Jews to get revenge. Actually the Germans are the only decent people left in Europe. It's a choice between them and the Russians. I prefer the Germans. So do our cousins . . .

I got Van S. Merle Smith for ADC. He plays squash and badminton and is a gentleman.

Diary, August 31

Today we received an order to investigate the possibilities of destroying the Eagle's Nest, Hitler's special home at Berchtesgaden, so that it would not become a Nazi shrine . . . If anything could make it a Nazi shrine, it would be to destroy it. Furthermore, the first thing our soldiers like to visit when on pass is this lookout. To date

some 40,000 have seen it. I wrote a letter to General Eisenhower pointing out these facts and trust the order will not be enforced.

I also wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, on the question of the pro-Jewish influence in the Military Government of Germany. I dared do this because when I was in Washington, he showed me a great deal of correspondence he had had with the Secretary of State and Mr. Morgenthau prior to the Quebec Conference.

Diary, September 1, 1945

Father Bernard Hubbard, SJ, "The Glacier Priest," spent last night with us and showed us his movies. He is very anti-Russian and anti-Semitic and talks very well when he forgets to advertise himself.

I decided to rewrite the letter to Mr. Stimson as I think that even when writing to him, I stuck my neck too far out.

CHAPTER 40

The Approaching Showdown

"I am frankly opposed to this war criminal stuff. It is not cricket and is semitic."

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 2, 1945

Every thing I say is not only misquoted but also put out of context . . .

I can't see what future I have but I am certainly getting a great education in S.O.B's . . .

I had never heard that we fought to de-natzify Germany — live and learn. What we are doing is to utterly destroy the only semi-modern state in Europe so that Russia can swallow the whole.

HE MAY NEVER HAVE SEEN Eisenhower's directive of June 29, for he was then in the United States. This was a major document. Drawing on the official communiqué of the Crimea or Yalta Conference, it set forth the policy governing the removal and exclusion of Nazis and German militarists from public office and from positions of importance in quasi-public and private enterprises.

"One of the principal objectives of the war," the directive stated categorically, "is 'to destroy German militarism and Nazism' and 'to remove all Nazi and militarist influences' . . . from the cultural and economic life of the German people." Nominal members of the Nazi party could be retained for administrative purposes, but the question was, who was nominal?

As Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay, Deputy Military Governor, U.S. Group, Control Council in Berlin, explained to Patton, everyone realized that removing Nazis from governmental positions resulted in less effective administrative machinery. The President's orders permitted the retention of "nominal Nazis," but defined them in such a way as to make the number that could be retained for administrative convenience quite small.

Many Germans had told Clay they could not understand why any Nazi was kept in office. It was perhaps true that many Nazis joined the party for the same reason that some Americans became Democrats or Republicans — in order to gain public office. But the Nazis were "part and parcel" of the group being charged with starting the war. Policies from home rigidly excluded Nazis from government office and particularly from places of prominence.

In other words, there was little ambiguity about certain high party officials and those charged with crimes against humanity, who were in the mandatory arrest category. It was the smaller men who caused the confusion, and four months after the end of the war, in September, the Third Army headquarters was still grappling with the problem, admitting not only considerable inconsistency in the practices carried out but also clear cases where policy had been misinterpreted and misapplied.

An example of the difficulty involved came to light when the XX Corps chief of staff phoned Gay for help. Under the current regulations, he said, it was necessary to remove from important positions and to place under arrest all Germans in the automatic arrest category. But what about a certain mine director who was the most capable engineer in Bavaria? No one could replace him, and to remove him would decrease the production of coal. Gay authorized — subject, of course, to approval by higher authority — placing the man in house arrest and keeping him at work.

At this time, a telegram from Eisenhower questioned the Third Army on alleged mistreatment of Jewish displaced persons. Brigadier General Mickelsen, Chief of the Displaced Persons Branch of G-5, USFET, would soon make a formal inspection of the Jewish camps in the Eastern Military District. Eisenhower specified that stateless Jews who had yet to be moved to special Jewish camps be so transferred before the inspection.

If Patton paid any attention to — or was even aware of — these matters, he made no mention of them. He was engaged in a far more fascinating activity.

In order to amuse himself and also to instruct coming generations of soldiers, he was writing a book entitled "War as I Saw It," soon to be renamed "War as I Knew It." It was a compendium of observations, lessons learned, strictures, and the like, all derived from his experience, all set forth with the usual Patton verve, clarity, and bravura.

He sent chapters to friends at home, Harbord, Summerall, Codman,

and others, asking them to consider the manuscript confidential. One of the recipients was Under Secretary of War Patterson, soon to become Secretary, whom Patton characterized in a letter to Beatrice as "quite a nice man . . . He is a military historian and got a DSC in the infantry in the last war. He may lack moral guts."

The manuscript provided the basis for a much edited — or, in Pentagon terminology, "sanitized" — version that Mrs. Patton published after the general's death.

On September 6, he went to Berlin to represent Eisenhower at an inter-Allied military parade.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 11, 1945

I think I was never so tired and stiff as I was yesterday. I did not realize how much out of condition I was.

I left here after lunch on the 6th and flew to Berlin where there was a guard [of honor] from the 82d Airborne. It was really very nice in a tin soldier sort of way. Then I went to Ike's villa which was turned over to me — very nice.

I went for a sail in an 8-meter which is really a nice boat and sleeps four, but is pretty . . .

On the 7th there was an inter-allied review to celebrate V-J day. U.S., English, French, and Russians each had 1,000 men and 50 vehicles in the parade. Marshall Sukov [Zhukov] was senior, I was next. He was in full dress uniform much like comic opera and covered with medals. He is short, rather fat and has a prehensile chin like an ape but good blue eyes. He was in the cavalry. Our troops looked the best, the Russians next.

The R's had a lot of new heavy tanks of which they are very proud. The Marshall asked me how I liked them. I said I did not, and we had quite an argument. Apparently I was the first person ever to disagree with him.

From the parade I flew to Pilsen and reviewed the 16th Armored Division.

On the 8th we went to Brown in Sudeten land and went on a duck shoot . . . This lasted till about 3 PM and then we started walking through potato patches after Hungarian partridges. We walked till 6 PM so were on our feet about ten hours.

Then we had a dance till 10 — at least I went to bed then. We got up at 4:30 and went deer hunting, walking over mountains for two

hours. I did not see a deer. But all the mushrooms, shown in the colored plates [in the encyclopedia], red with yellow spots, yellow with red spots . . . red, green, pink, and yellow, hundreds of them.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 11, 1945

I just won another battle — only this time it was against me. Hap and I have a little course of jumps which we have been working on for a couple of weeks. There was one red and white pole not over 3-6 [three feet, six inches] but the highest we had so that I have been making all sorts of excuses to my self for not jumping. I just jumped it.

Remember after the last war I got timid too, but beat it down . . .

Count von Luckner called on me to day. He wants a job teaching the Germans democracy.

Letter, Eisenhower to GSP, Jr., September 11, 1945

As you know, I have announced a firm policy of uprooting the whole Nazi organization regardless of the fact that we may sometimes suffer from local administrative inefficiency. Reduced to its fundamentals, the United States entered this war as a foe of Naziism; victory is not complete until we have eliminated from positions of responsibility and, in appropriate cases properly punished, every active adherent to the Nazi party.

I know that certain field commanders have felt that some modifications to this policy should be made. That question has long since been decided. We will not compromise with Naziism in any way.

I wish you would make sure that all your subordinate commanders realize that the discussion stage of this question is long past and any expressed opposition to the faithful execution of this order cannot be regarded leniently by me. I expect just as loyal service in execution of this and other policies applying to the German occupation as I received during the war.

More important seemed a letter from Maxwell Taylor, Superintendent of the Military Academy, who solicited Patton's views on what changes he would suggest at West Point. More weight, Patton replied, should be given to the Tactical Department and less to the academic aptitudes.

I say this as a goat but without bitterness because although I was turned back I outranked all members of my initial class.

I am convinced that nothing I learned in electricity or hydraulics or in higher mathematics or in drawing in any way contributed to my military career. Therefore I would markedly reduce or wholly jettison the above subjects.

I am convinced that much more emphasis should be placed on history . . . The purpose of history . . . is to learn how human beings react when exposed to the danger of wounds or death, and how high ranking individuals react when submitted to the onerous responsibility of conducting war or the preparations for war. The acquisition of knowledge concerning the dates or places on which certain events transpired is immaterial . . .

I have regretted all my life that I did not know more languages . . .

I believe that gallantry and a desire to attain military prestige can be cultivated . . .

The greatest thing you and I got out of it was our profound belief in the greatness of our motto [Duty, Honor, Country].

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 14, 1945

I was going to Nancy in the morning to become a [honorary] citizen but Ike phoned he is coming here so I had best stay and see him. Perhaps I can make him see the menace of the M's. They have 300,000 troops in Checo. now and are running 200,000 more in, and we are pulling out — getting the boys home by Xmas. It may well result in getting them back in the trenches by spring . . .

I am frankly opposed to this war criminal stuff. It is not cricket and is semitic. I am also opposed to sending PW's to work as slaves in foreign lands [in particular, to France] where many will be starved to death . . .

Some times I think I will simply resign and not be a further party to the degradation of my country.

Diary, September 15

Late yesterday afternoon I was notified that General Eisenhower would arrive . . . near Munich at 0930 this morning, having flown from the Riviera . . .

I later found out that the purpose of his visit was to inspect the DP camps, particularly at least one occupied by Jews, to determine the condition of these Jews in order that he may write a letter to Mr. Truman.

Harkins and I went there to greet him in spite of the fact he had

suggested that I not put myself out. I have always felt that an officer should be present to meet in person an officer of the next higher grade and in this case, General Eisenhower was also my friend.

Harkins and I waited until 12.00 o'clock, at which time we heard that General Eisenhower had been unable to land and had had to go to Paris to get down, using the beam at the field there.

While waiting, I talked to Brigadier General Mickelsen who is G-5 for Eisenhower's headquarters [in charge of DP affairs], and he showed me a letter from President Truman to General Eisenhower which was unnecessarily harsh and in much less considerate language than I would have used in cussing out a 2nd Lieutenant.

Mickelsen also showed me the report of a man named Harrison (which report was inclosed in the President's letter) on the condition of Displaced Persons in Europe, particularly Jews. Harrison is a member of the State Department. The report contained many allegations against General Eisenhower, the Army, and the various commanders.

One of the chief complaints is that the DP's are kept in camps under guard. Of course, Harrison is ignorant of the fact that if they were not kept under guard they would not stay in the camps, would spread over the country like locusts, and would eventually have to be rounded up after quite a few of them had been shot and quite a few Germans murdered and pillaged.

The brilliant Mr. Harrison further objected to the sanitary conditions, again being ignorant of the fact that we frequently have to use force in order to prevent the inmates, Germans, Jews, and other people, from defecating on the floor when ample facilities are provided outside.

Evidently the virus started by Morgenthau and Baruch of a Semitic revenge against all Germans is still working. Harrison and his associates indicate that they feel German civilians should be removed from houses for the purpose of housing Displaced Persons.

There are two errors in this assumption. First, when we remove an individual German, we punish an individual German while the punishment is not intended for the individual but for the race. Furthermore, it is against my Anglo-Saxon conscience to remove a person from a house, which is a punishment, without due process of law. In the second place, Harrison and his ilk believe that the Displaced Person is a human being, which he is not, and this applies particularly to the Jews who are lower than animals. I remember

once at Troina in Sicily, General Gay said that it wasn't a question of the people living with the dirty animals but of the animals living with the dirty people. At that time he had never seen a Displaced Jew.

Furthermore, I do not see why Jews should be treated any better or any worse than Catholics, Protestants, Mohammedans, or Mormons. However, it seems apparent that we will have to do this, and I am going to do it as painlessly as possible by taking a certain group of buildings in several cities and placing the Jews, who do not exceed 20,000, in sort of improved ghettos.

To put the Jews on farms would be disastrous because it would break up the agricultural economy of Bavaria on which we depend for providing what food is provided which is not paid for by American taxpayers.

We arranged a good itinerary for General Eisenhower which we will put into effect when he comes. Unquestionably he is just as much under fire as is anyone else and in this particular case, very unjustly so.

If the people in Washington would stop trying to find fault with others and wake up to the extent of making the Russians take back the Poles and other people whom they have not permitted to return, the situation in Displaced Persons would be much ameliorated . . .

It seems to be quite a hell of a mess.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Keith Merrill, Washington, D.C., September 16, 1945

I have just been handed a Mr. Parker W. Buhrman as an advisor on political affairs. He was sent to me by [Robert] Murphy and is alleged to have been a member of the Foreign Service.

Please let me know what you know about him and, if you know nothing, speak to someone who does, as it is always a good idea to get the dope on one's assistants. Particularly — does he belong to the chosen people?

Diary, September 16

General Eisenhower . . . arrived at 2000, and we had supper and spent the evening talking over the situation. In fact we talked until 3.00 o'clock in the morning.

General Eisenhower felt at that time that he would undoubtedly

become [U.S. Army] Chief of Staff and that McNarney was slated to take over his job in Europe. He asked me, in view of that situation, what I wanted to do.

I told him I did not care to serve under General McNarney, not because I had anything personal against him but because I thought it unseemly for a man with my combat record to serve under a man who had never heard a gun go off.

I stated there were only two jobs in the United States which I felt I could take. One was President of the Army War College, which I believed was taken, and the other was Commanding General of the Army Ground Forces.

General Eisenhower stated that the Army War College would probably be a combined institution with the Army, Navy, and Air Force [eventually the National War College], and that in that event, the first President would be a naval officer since the former president had been General DeWitt, an Army officer. This seems to put the War College out of the running.

With reference to the . . . Army Ground Forces, Eisenhower stated he saw no reason why he as Chief of Staff could not remove Devers and put me in. However, he stated he felt that the Army Air Force would become The Air Force with a Chief of Staff of its own and a promotion system of its own, in which case he could see no reason for having an Army Ground Force.

I agreed with him. Therefore, at the present writing, it would seem the only thing I can do is go home and retire. However, Eisenhower asked me to remain at least three months after he left so as to get things running quietly. I tentatively agreed to this.

He did so because he was a good soldier and because he owed so much to Eisenhower.

Diary, September 17

Eisenhower and I drove to Munich where we inspected a Baltic Displaced Persons camp. The Baltic people are the best of the Displaced Persons and the camp was extremely clean in all respects . . . We were both, I think, very much pleased with the conditions here . . .

We drove for about 45 minutes to a Jewish camp . . . established in what had been a German hospital. The buildings were therefore in a good state of repair when the Jews arrived but were in a bad state of repair when we arrived, because these Jewish DP's, or at least

a majority of them, have no sense of human relationships. They decline, where practicable, to use latrines, preferring to relieve themselves on the floor . . .

This happened to be the feast of Yom Kippur, so they were all collected in a large wooden building which they called a synogogue. It behooved General Eisenhower to make a speech to them. We entered the synagogue which was packed with the greatest stinking bunch of humanity I have ever seen. When we got about half way up, the head rabbi, who was dressed in a fur hat similar to that worn by Henry VIII of England and in a surplice heavily embroidered and very filthy, came down and met the General. Also a copy of the Talmud, I think it is called, written on a sheet and rolled around a stick, was carried by one of the attending physicians.

First, a Jewish civilian made a very long speech which nobody seemed inclined to translate. Then General Eisenhower mounted the platform and I went up behind him, and he made a short and excellent speech, which was translated paragraph by paragraph.

However, the smell was so terrible that I almost fainted and actually about three hours later lost my lunch as the result of remembering it.

From here we went to the Headquarters of the XX Corps, where General Craig gave us an excellent lunch which I, however, was unable to partake of owing to my nausea.

After lunch we visited a . . . model German workers' village . . . It was my purpose to turn this over into a Jewish concentration camp. Here we met the most talkative Jewish female, an American who was running the UNRRA part of the camp . . .

After inspecting this and making another speech, which I avoided, General Eisenhower directed that sufficient Germans be evicted from houses contiguous to the concentration camp so that the density per capita of DP's and Germans should be approximately the same. Also that the American guards be removed from the camp except for a standby guard in case of a riot, and that guards composed of unarmed inmates take over the police of the camp proper . . .

After this we returned home and went for a fishing trip on the lake which, while not successful, at least removed from our minds the nauseous odors and aspects of the camps we had inspected.

We then took as long and as hot a bath as we could stand to remove from our persons the germs which must have accumulated during the day.

I believe this was the first time General Eisenhower had inspected or seen much of Displaced Persons. Of course, I have seen them since the beginning and marvelled that beings alleged to be made in the form of God can look the way they do or act the way they act.

Diary, September 18

Ike and I drove to the airfield . . . I took off for Pilsen . . . to carry out an invitation extended to me by General Harmon to go on a shoot.

Harmon met me at Pilsen airport and we immediately took off by motor, preceded by a Czech army car, to the chateau of the Prince Schwartzenburg family. Schwartzenburg was the only general who actually ever defeated Napoleon on the field of battle before Waterloo . . .

The chateau which is extremely large, having 140 rooms, was built around 1700, and is therefore not a sensible building but a show-off place . . .

As usual in Europe, the first thing to do was to eat. This meal consisted of salad, soup, three kinds of meat, four or five kinds of wine, and an unlimited quantity of beer.

After this was taken aboard we went through the chateau which reminded me very much of Bannerman's [store near West Point, an emporium]. I have never seen so much armor and weapons assembled in one place with total disregard of historical sequence. That is, you would find a weapon of late 1400 crossed over one of early 1800. There were four complete suits of plate [armor]. One of these was a working suit of about 1500, which was a good one. The rest were fluted and fixed up, really tin dress clothes of a later date. In the armory proper there was a tremendous collection of 1600 steel helmets and earlier morions of the Spanish type, also a number of pikes of the Gustavus Adolphus period which, however, had been sawed off. There were two or three wheel-lock guns which were priceless. We were also shown a great deal of what I believe is called Boule furniture — that is, furniture composed of ebony, tortoise shell, and ivory. The whole tour of the chateau proper took about two hours.

Then we were taken to a sporting museum which was another chateau built prior to the first one we visited. Here they had every animal ever killed on the estate stuffed . . .

Behind this museum was a zoo containing a bunch of very dejected

animals with a sign on it in Russian . . . saying they were not to kill or tease the animals . . .

About an hour before dark we drove into the woods where we met some more game-keepers and were placed on stands. The stand I was on was an elevated tower about thirty feet high camouflaged in the trees with a couple of peep holes. There was a bench up there, and all one had to do was sit down and wait until the keeper, who stood guard with a pair of binoculars, announced that the deer had arrived. Unfortunately for me these deer did not arrive until it was practically dark. I got one shot at 138 paces and luckily got a hit. However, since I was using a carbine, the animal did not go down, so we had to sit and wait for him to die and listen to his mournful coughing.

When it was quite dark, we went to get him and heard him in the woods about fifty feet from us, but it was decided that the best thing to do was to wait until morning. I believe this was correct, for had we pursued him, it might have been difficult to find him. As it was, he was very easily located in the morning.

Unquestionably the peep-sight on the American carbine and M-1 rifle is not suitable for fighting in a bad light.

Diary, September 19

When I woke up in the morning and looked out, the stag had already arrived and was being properly arranged in the center of the courtyard where they had made a bed of green leaves for him and laid him down with his head propped up with a stick. It was amusing to note that where he had first been laid on the stone and bled a little, three old women were scrubbing on their knees.

We went down and had some pictures taken, then had breakfast at which they served cognac which nobody drank. Then, having thanked our friends for their courtesy, we departed for another shooting place belonging to a prince whose name I do not know.

We were met by the heir apparent who took us to a wood road where his father, mother, and wife, riding in a carriage, met us. Here we dismounted and walked through the woods for a considerable distance. I at once shot a fallow deer at about 200 yards standing. I think I probably hit him as he went down and the other two deer who were with him ran in the opposite direction. We walked after these and came upon them in about half an hour. I gave Harmon the shot, but he did not kill the deer; apparently he shot high.

We then returned to the hunting lodge where the ladies and the

older prince met us and we had sandwiches and a bottle of white wine. From there we drove back to Pilsen and took the airplane for Bad Tolz, which we reached about 3:15.

Stimson had submitted his resignation, and on that day, September 19, it took effect and Patterson, the Undersecretary, became Secretary of War. For Patton's future, Stimson's departure was unfortunate. No one had supported and protected Patton during trying times as had Stimson. In all the incidents that had occurred during the war, Stimson's understanding had been critical in saving Patton from relief and figurative exile.

Now another incident was about to take place and Patton would miss Stimson's backing. Codman too was gone, as was Bradley, who had returned to head the Veterans' Administration in Washington, and these men who had contributed stability and judgment might have helped save Patton from himself.

During the past few months, Gay had been Patton's closest adviser. Gay was as uninterested in the occupation and as unqualified to deal with it as the boss himself. Perhaps more so. Inclined to joking and jesting — his nickname was Happy, shortened to Hap — he was essentially a plain man. He was utterly devoted and completely loyal to Patton, "dumb loyal," someone said, followed orders faithfully, did what he was told to do without pointing out that there might be other sides to the question. And thus he failed to provide diverging points of view that needed consideration before decisions were made. A splendid companion who liked to ride and to hunt, a superb staff officer who ran the military details of the headquarters with exceptional efficiency, he lacked breadth and depth of intellectual capacity. His prejudices and politics paralleled Patton's, and as a consequence reinforced instead of correcting them. If Gay's journal accurately reflected his concerns, he — much like the Old Man — closely followed the movements and the activities of the troop units and little else. He failed to understand the profound issues of his time and the serious nature of the human problems involved, and in Patton's hour of need, through no deliberate fault of his own, Gay let Patton down.

Unfortunately for Patton, even Gay, who might at least have helped keep up his spirits, was away. Along with Muller and Koch, he was on leave in the United States at the moment of the showdown which was about to occur.

Eisenhower's visit to the displaced persons' camps on September 15

foreshadowed the showdown, but the opening gun in what some described as a campaign to "get" Patton, sounded in a story that appeared in the *New York Times* on September 19. It was by Raymond Daniell who reported that "Nazis still hold some of the best jobs in commerce and industry" because military government was more concerned with preserving German industrial efficiency than with fulfilling the objectives for which the war had been fought.

This general accusation became explicitly directed against Patton when Daniell further reported overhearing a remark by the Third Army commander. Patton had asked a military government fiscal officer who was investigating bankers "if he did not think it 'silly' to try to get rid of 'the most intelligent' people in Germany."

Patton's concerns remained essentially military, and his focus stayed on the Third Army.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Graves, September 21, 1945

Over here we are sloughing away, the Third Army being very much like a person with leprosy, dropping off an arm or a leg or a toe practically every day, while the displaced sons-of-bitches in the various camps are blooming like green trees.

He was terribly depressed and terribly angry. Everyone was hurrying to get home, military discipline was vanishing, and the wrong people were benefiting from everything.

Yet he had a premonition of what was to come.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 21, 1945

I think that leaving here sooner than I had intended is perhaps fortunate, as this radical political emphasis on redeployment (spelled votes) is likely to undo all we have done. I think it is the most utterly unpatriotic thing imaginable. No one will say a word — no one!!...

I told all of them [Gay, Muller, Koch] that if they get a chance to catch a good job, they had better take it as we are just a corpse loosing a toe one day and a finger the next.

Well the squash court is working so I get some exercise...

As I may be home by Xmas don't send me any presents here. If I am not relieved by that time, I shall try and get a leave.

Diary, September 21

General Louis Craig came in to see me this morning to explain how he had arranged for taking care of the Jews. It has been necessary for him, against his and my instincts, to move twenty-two rich German families from their houses in order to put the animals in them. I told Craig to take pictures of the houses before they were occupied by the Jews and then subsequently. I also told him to move the Germans with as much consideration as possible and to give them transportation to move as much of their decent property out as they could.

Craig... told me he had inspected another Jewish camp yesterday in which he found men and women using adjacent toilets which were not covered in any way although screens were available to make the toilets individually isolated, which the Jews were too lazy to put up.

He said the conditions and filth were unspeakable. In one room he found ten people, six men and four women, occupying four double beds. Either the Displaced Persons never had any sense of decency or else they lost it all during their period of internment by the Germans. My personal opinion is that no people could have sunk to the level of degradation these have reached in the short space of four years.

It sounded very much like what he had said about the Arabs, the Egyptians, and the Sicilians, all of whom he had classified as subhuman. Now it was the eastern Europeans, whose appearance, dress, manner, language, customs, beliefs, behavior, and condition he was unable to fathom. They were poverty-stricken, not always clean, coming from a primitive culture and society without such amenities as toilets, and their manners, according to Anglo-Saxon standards, were frequently less than exquisite. Many of them had been compelled to divest themselves of some human qualities in order to survive the war and the holocaust.

His lack of understanding of these odd and apparently inferior persons was the logical extension of his boyhood in southern California, which gave him a special view of Mexicans and Indians; and of his southern heritage, which shaped his outlook toward blacks. In part he simply reflected a parochial interpretation of the non-American world, a vision that was middle-American, populist, and the essence of Babbitry and conformity, where anyone who was different was undoubtedly bad. His snobbery based on wealth, breeding, social advantage, and privilege, to-

gether with his father's insistence on being a gentleman in the stereotyped country-club image, also played a role.

Lehman, Morgenthau, Baruch, when Patton entertained them during the war, were perfectly acceptable, as was Rabbi Brickner; they were cultured, moneyed, dignified, clean, and therefore gentlemen despite their Jewish faith. They were Jewish Wasps. In contrast, Patton characterized the wife of a man prominent in government as "a very Jewy Jewess," and he meant it to be a double pejorative.

He shared whatever endemic anti-Semitism existed in America, in the U.S. Army, and among the rich and fashionable during the early and middle years of the twentieth century. He had listened with interest and sympathy to Beatrice's half brother Charles, who believed passionately in the reality of the long-discredited Protocols of Zion.

Now, although he kept his feelings private and discreet, confined to his diary, his personal letters, and his conversation with friends, his emotions seemed on the verge of going out of control.

CHAPTER 41

The Showdown

"The more I see of people the more I regret that I survived the war."

WHEN SEVERAL NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS at Third Army headquarters asked Patton's press officer, Major Ernest C. Deane, whether they could meet with Patton, Deane passed their request to the chief of staff. Patton agreed to talk with the reporters, and the conference was scheduled for September 22, immediately after the normal Saturday morning briefing, which had replaced the daily wartime sessions. The journalists could attend the briefing, and at the end of the staff reports, they could interview Patton. Several days beforehand, Deane had a notice of the event posted on the bulletin board of the nearby Bad Wiessee press camp.

Only eleven newspapermen attended the staff briefing that day. Most were Third Army regulars — among them, Kathleen McLaughlin of the *New York Times*, Nora Waln of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and Pierre J. Huss of the International News Service. There were also four newcomers, Ray Daniell of the *New York Times*, Carl Levin of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Edward P. Morgan of the *Chicago Daily News*, and Daniell's wife, Tania Long of the *New York Times*. McLaughlin had informed them by telephone of the conference, and they drove from Nuremburg the previous evening, spent the night at Bad Wiessee, and accompanied the others to the headquarters.

As soon as the staff meeting was over, Patton, who seemed irritable and on edge, started to leave. He apparently assumed that the correspondents were interested primarily in occupation matters, and he expected his staff officer in charge, Colonel Dalferes, his G-5, to answer their questions. Daniell, Levin, and Morgan asked whether Patton himself would give them a few minutes. He consented.

No stenographic notes were made, but according to Gay's journal, the

questions put to Patton seemed to suggest that denazification was proceeding too slowly. The reporters said that Dr. Friedrich Schaeffer, President-Minister of Bavaria, ought to be removed from office because he disagreed with the denazification program.

Patton replied that all the Germans appointed to office did as they were told or were dismissed. They followed Third Army instructions, which were based on directives from higher headquarters. No known Nazis, he asserted, held government posts.

He then brought up the analogy he had used before. Suppose, he said, America had lost the war. If the conquering nation removed persons in political power from office, it would have to exclude all the Republicans and Democrats who held government posts. If Patton indiscriminately turned efficient people out of their jobs, he would create an administrative turmoil that would very likely cause the deaths of many innocent persons.

Repeating that denazification was being carried out in an orderly manner, Patton said that further screenings of Germans to discover Nazis would continue. But what he thought was more essential was to get the Germans back on an economic basis comparable with that of the surrounding countries. That would save the American taxpayers, who could not bear to see people starve, from an inordinate drain on their resources for the purpose of supporting Germany. At the moment, he said, he was trying to get enough wood cut and enough stoves provided so that the displaced persons and the German people would not freeze to death that winter.

Reduced to these terms, the exchange seemed harmless. But it was not so much what was said as how the interview was conducted. Gay stated categorically that when Daniell, Levin, and Morgan were dissatisfied with Patton's answers, they tried to put words into his mouth. According to another recollection, these three reporters,

making use of only partial truths, construed the answers to their questions to suit their own purposes and . . . tried to bring discredit upon General Patton.

Deane recalled that things went wrong from the start. As early as the staff briefing, the general was made upset and angry by the report of an officer who talked too long and too loudly. Then,

Daniell, Levin, and Morgan moved right in, and Tania too. Nothing went right with us from that moment.

Just what was said back and forth nobody could say for certain, even an hour after it was all over . . .

Was there actually a frameup . . . against General Patton? A . . . correspondent . . . later said he overheard the three of them plotting at breakfast that morning before the press conference, to needle the General and make him lose his temper.

Concurring in this point of view was Frank E. Mason, who was in Europe at the time. With credentials as a correspondent of the North American Newspaper Alliance, he was on a confidential mission for former President Herbert Hoover. Mason had been president of the International News Service, had a distinguished career in broadcasting, and was prominent in public affairs. He was a neighbor in Leesburg, Virginia, of Marshall and other influential men, including Fletcher, Patton's West Point classmate and Marshall's close friend.

Concerned over the evident strength of the Russians, Mason wrote on September 26, to Roy W. Howard, president of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, with copies to Hoover, Harbord, and Fletcher, that

The New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune have come to the aid of PM [the liberal New York newspaper]'s campaign to run interference for a Red government in Germany. I am sure that this is innocent as far as the Times and Trib are concerned at home. But I don't ascribe any innocence to their correspondents over here who are provoking the story.

Mason believed that a conspiracy existed to make sure that only those Germans who were acceptable to the Russians and to the German Communists were appointed to local government posts in the American zone. To this end, he felt, radical journalists attacked general officers who named anti-Communist German officials. If these newspapermen succeeded in their campaign, the governments in the American zone, and the British as well, would be Russian puppets.

Only two forces, Mason said, stood in the way of complete Soviet domination of Germany: "the dominant Catholic Centrum party" in Bavaria, supported by "Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich [who for] long had an

overt record of defying Hitler and the Nazis"; and the U.S. Army. The attack against these forces could be seen in PM reporter Victor Bernstein's attempt to assassinate the Cardinal's reputation and in the vilification by

the team of Levin, Daniell, and Morgan [who] started to work out on Patton. Morgan's part was to stand close to Patton with a pipe in his mouth and insolently puff smoke into Patton's face . . .

Levin and Daniell, using a sneering tone, with the attitude of a criminal prosecutor interrogating a hardened criminal, and both talking at once at times, went after Patton for permitting a German named Schaeffer to hold public office in Munich. The Schaeffer case is confused. He was once in a concentration camp and in wrong with the Germans and at other times held municipal jobs under them. I can't say whether or not he was a member of the [Nazi] party.

The other correspondents stood back and not one of them got into the crossfire of Levin and Daniell attacking Patton . . .

Remarks were made by Levin and Daniell in a condescending tone . . .

Levin was so disagreeable . . . that Patton once said, "You are so smart. You know everything. Why do you ask me?"

Obviously they were trying to get Patton to lose his temper . . .

Colonel Dalferes, Patton's G-5, answered the questions for about five minutes as they were so technical about government situation that in fairness Patton could not be expected to know the details . . .

One of the regular correspondents here at Bad Wiessee . . . told me that he had heard the three . . . plotting at the breakfast table how they would get Patton.

No doubt the conversation at the breakfast table turned on how best to get at Patton's basic feelings. The reporters wanted a significant story, and they suspected strongly, in the light of previous Patton statements, that he had little sympathy with the denazification policies. If they could get him to say so, that was news.

Deane later said,

There is no denying that General Patton lost his temper on that awful morning and put himself into the hands of his enemies, but God knows he was provoked into it deliberately. I'll never believe otherwise.

George Fisher, who was there, had another impression:

There was to be the regular, fast-moving review of the weekend situation for the orientation of section chiefs. This would then be followed by a second briefing for the special edification of certain representatives of the American press who had come to Bad Tolz to obtain enlightenment on some matters pertaining to the occupation of the liberated territories . . .

[Patton] decided he would have none of it. He was in a hurry, he said, and hadn't time to wait through a double briefing. So the press parties were ushered into the operations room [for the regular review].

These particular men were unknown to most of us, yet it seemed fairly obvious that in their field they were men of distinction . . .

With the end of the last [staff] presentation, Patton jumped to his feet and made as if to dash off. At the same instant, up popped the journalists with a few questions.

It did seem that what they wanted to know was reasonable enough. And they wanted the information from the Army commander himself instead of from his staff. And they bore credentials from Washington as well as from Frankfurt. And they did evidence a degree of deference toward the Old Man that was notable.

But Patton was just not in the mood. Something was gnawing his guts that morning. His own people knew enough to let him alone at such moments. But of course the press could not wait . . . Patton . . . barked out the first things that happened to come into his head.

Lunch that noon was a serious affair. Everyone had a notion that the fat was now in the fire.

In his diary entry of September 22, Patton recorded his own reaction:

This morning we had the ragtag and bobtail remnants of the great U.S. press present . . . [I] always had them on my side. Today there was very apparent hostility, not against me personally, but against the Army in general. The special gripe seems to be that we are backing the wrong horse in the choice of the Governor or President of Bavaria. The temerity of the newspaper man in suggesting that he knew more about who we should have than I do, although I know nothing, made me mad which I think is what they wanted.

To admit, even privately in his diary, that he knew "nothing" was a remarkable statement. Or was he joking with himself?

There is a very apparent Semitic influence in the press. They are trying to do two things: First, implement Communism, and second, see that all business men of German ancestry and non-Jewish antecedents are thrown out of their jobs. They have utterly lost the Anglo-Saxon conception of justice and feel that a man can be kicked out because somebody else says he is a Nazi. They were evidently quite shocked when I told them I would kick nobody out without the successful proof of guilt before a court of law.

If people have time to read anything besides the number of points which will get a soldier home, I will probably make the front page but, frankly, do not give a damn.

The attitude of the American people as evinced by the press and the radio is such [that] I am inclined to think I made a great mistake in serving them for nearly forty years, although I had a very good time doing it.

Another point which the press harped on was the fact that we were doing too much for the Germans to the detriment of the DP's, most of whom are Jews. I could not give the answer to that one because the answer is that in my opinion and that of most non-political officers, it is vitally necessary for us to build Germany up now as a buffer state against Russia. In fact, I am afraid we have waited too long. If we let Germany and the German people be completely disintegrated and starved, they will certainly fall for Communism and the fall of Germany for Communism will write the epitaph of Democracy in the United States.

The more I see of people I regret that I survived the war.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Gaffey, Armored School, Fort Knox, September 22, 1945

When I was in the States, I sensed that things were pretty tumultuous, but you have no idea how tumultuous they have gotten here. All the correspondents who have nothing better to do go around and attempt to form political parties and then accuse me of being either pro-Fascist, pro-Republican, or pro-Communist, according to their desires.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 22, 1945

I will probably be in the headlines before you get this. As the press

is trying to quote me as being more interested in restoring order in Germany than in catching Nazis. I can't tell them the truth that unless we restore Germany we will insure that Communism takes America.

The New York *Times* of September 23, quoted Patton as having said, "The Nazi thing is just like a Democrat-Republican election fight," and the story appeared in papers across the country. Accompanying the account was a great deal of editorial comment, which questioned not only Patton's understanding of what the war had been about, but also the army's ability to conduct the occupation and run military government.

One of Schaeffer's ministers, it turned out, had been in the military forces as a general staff officer in German-occupied Poland, France, and Italy; two others were also in a mandatory removal category because of their wartime careers; and another had falsified his *Fragebogen*, the questionnaire that all Germans seeking employment had to fill in. Schaeffer was forced to dismiss them, but he entered a formal protest against the "hardship and injustice" of denazification.

By then the Third Army had discharged from internment camps about 8000 Germans in the lowest mandatory arrest category. Probably stirred by the story in the New York *Times*, Eisenhower telegraphed instructions to stop the practice. Patton agreed to halt further action but ordered his own military government detachments not to re-arrest those already released.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Mrs. M. B. Horan, New York, September 24, 1945

When General Gay cannot go [riding with him], I take my stable sergeant who is a paroled German Colonel of Cavalry, and former Captain of the German Olympic team and a very good man. I have never had any animus against the professional soldiers who fought against me. That was what they were hired to do.

Patton would soon receive remarkably good advice that reached him too late. An American who had been born and educated in Germany before coming to the United States and who served in the U.S. Army, for a time under Patton's command, wrote to make known his distress over "the progress of our policy" in Germany. Newspapers at home indicated that Patton had "an entirely disinterested attitude toward that program,"

that Patton knew and cared little about political parties in Bavaria, that Patton failed to sponsor "liberal elements" in German government. Many American soldiers learned at Malmédy, Buchenwald, Dachau, and Belsen about "the Nazis and their inhuman, fiendish methods." All Germans "were guilty to a degree but not equally guilty," and the paramount task of the Occupation was to find those Germans who were worthier than others of American support. "In the name of the common man, in the name of Justice, and those millions who perished in these death factories of Oswiecim," the writer pleaded, "COME HOME. Come home quickly and leave the job to rule our sector of Germany to a man who will see our interests through to a successful end."

Unfortunately, there was no place for Patton to go, no proper assignment, no place in the United States for him. And he could hardly bear to think of retiring because destiny or fate might be saving him for the coming struggle with the Bolsheviks.

There was no reply to the letter. Marked at the top was the word "File."

Diary, September 25

I have just finished reading a resume of the Potsdam Conference as set out in "Army Talks."

If Mars and the Devil had gotten together with the intention of producing a violent and prompt war, they could not have written a greater document. As is always the case with Allies, it is a compromise, but it is a compromise in which one of the high contracting parties was uncompromising, namely Russia. Russia knows what she wants (domination of the world) and is laying her plans accordingly. We, on the other hand, and England and France to a lesser extent, don't know what we want and get less than nothing as the result . . . Under the present system all that has been produced is a hot bed of anarchy and hopelessness which is an ideal germinating ground for Communism.

Just before lunch Beedle Smith called and said that because I was one of his best friends, I caused him more trouble than any other man. He then read me extracts from headlines in the United States covering the remarks I was alleged to have made on Saturday.

I told him now that the war was over, I did not propose to be jumped on any more by the press, and if they did not like what I

said, I would resign so I could be in a position to talk back. He urged me not to do this and said there were going to be many changes soon and that both he and I might be out of jobs. He then suggested I have a press conference this afternoon and clarify my statements.

I did this and wrote out a statement . . . [and had a] stenographic report of remarks made during the conference.

From what two of the old correspondents told me, the whole thing was the result of the unlucky presence of two itinerant correspondents . . . both pink.

A Mr. Mason who used to be in the I.N.S. and who alleges he is a friend of Colonel Rob Fletcher's, came in with a long story about the attempt on the part of Jewish and Communist elements to put the bug on people like myself. While his story sounded plausible, I have developed such a low opinion of all newspaper people that I think he is probably a liar.

"Fate gave me a ticket for the bleachers for the second half of the great Levin-Patton bout," Frank Mason wrote.

I was here by accident for the second press conference which was supposed to straighten out the first one. I had phoned Patton's headquarters from Munich, and much to my surprise when I asked for the General's aide, Patton himself came on the phone.

Patton asked Mason to identify himself, and Mason said he had last seen Patton right after World War I, when Mason was an officer at Trier in the headquarters of General Preston Brown, Pershing's deputy chief of staff for the Occupation. Patton had been "very kind to me when I was a young instructor at the Army Intelligence School at Langres, where he had his Tank Center," and Patton insisted that Mason come to visit him and sent a staff car to bring him to Bad Tolz.

In the presence of Harkins, Patton and Mason talked for 35 minutes. "What do you think of the progress we are making denazifying Germany?" Patton asked. "We are doing pretty well, aren't we?"

Mason replied, "General, I think the so-called denazification of Germany is a lot of B.S."

"There is no dictaphone here," Patton responded, "— so do I."

Mason said that the Allied failure to take Berlin, Vienna, and Prague provided the foundation for the next war.

Patton nodded. "I could have taken two of them," he said.

Mason then mentioned the prisoner-of-war-camp scandals.

"What scandals?" Patton asked.

"Arresting people, holding them incommunicado for five months."

"Yes, yes," Patton said. "I know."

At 4 P.M., as Mason went out of Patton's office, he found the press outside and waiting to meet with Patton. Deane asked Mason to stay, "so I went back in."

Transcript of Press Conference, Bad Tolz, Germany, 1615, September 25, 1945

Patton: I am sorry I haven't got anything exciting for you this afternoon. Owing to some difficulties which we sometimes incur, I am going to become extremely like most other generals and read a statement . . .

As the direct result of our last talk together, apparently some startling headlines appeared in the home papers. I say "apparently" because I only know of them through hearsay. Of course, I understand that the reports you all send in do not contain headlines, and that these headlines are written afterwards at home.

My point . . . is that some of these things alleged to have been said by me might possibly reflect on my commanding officer, General Eisenhower. That would be very unjust. His policy and orders exactly reflect the terms of the Potsdam Conference . . .

General Eisenhower reiterated these instructions in a personal letter to both District Commanders; that is, to both myself and General Keyes, which I quote as follows . . .

It is my considered opinion that I am carrying out these directives with the same vigor and loyalty as I carried out those which resulted in the victories at Casablanca, El Guettar, Sicily, and here. I am convinced that as the result of my efforts I shall be just as successful here as I was in those other places. God knows, I was pretty successful. However, you must remember that results cannot be obtained overnight . . . It will certainly take a reasonable time to de-Nazify and reorganize our portion of Germany.

Unquestionably when I made the comparison of so vile a thing as Nazism with political parties, I was unfortunate in the selection of

analogies. The point I was and am trying to bring out is that in Germany practically all or at least a very large percentage of tradespeople, small businessmen, and even professional men such as doctors and lawyers were beholden to the Nazi party, particularly for the patronage which permitted them to carry on their businesses and professions, and that therefore many of them had to give lip service, but lip service only, and I would extend this to mean that paying dues was nothing but a form of black mail and holding their jobs. If we kick them out, all this bunch, we will so retard the reorganization of Bavaria . . . that we will certainly be guilty of the death by starvation or freezing of women, children, and old men this winter.

To do so, he repeated, would be un-American.

I will now give you seven minutes in which to ask whatever questions you may want to.

Question: General, if you recall, what was that direct quote about political parties?

Patton: I said that Naziism might well be compared to any of the parties at home, either Republican or Democrat. I also referred to my cousin who remained a postmaster for years by judicious flip-flops, and I don't consider him a son of a gun either.

He went on to amplify this, much as he had before.

Question: Will there be removals in the future?

Patton: Yes.

Again he talked of the administrative vacuum that might be created by denazifying too quickly.

Deane: Would it be appropriate to give the official figure on how many Nazis have been taken out so far? I have heard the figure 47,000 from G-5 —

Patton: Yes. I believe the figure 47,000 sticks in my mind . . .

Question: General . . . aren't there some who consider Friedrich Schaeffer was a Nazi?

Patton: He was in an internment camp and so far as I know has not been proved to be a Nazi . . . Schaeffer was, as a matter of fact,

picked out before I got here. So far, we have not definitely proved he is a misfit, but we have no brief for him or against him. What we are trying to do is to provide a governing body for Bavaria.

Question: Some American paper on Monday said that USFET wanted this man removed.

Patton: I have no knowledge of any such request, but you can be sure that if USFET wanted a man removed, he would go and go promptly.

Mason's impression of the meeting:

There is not much to report about this conference except that . . . [it] was decent and courteous in tone . . .

He [Patton] is sound. He is American. He is getting hell for daring to block the radicals in running interference for a red government in Germany.

Mason then drove all night in the rain from Bad Tolz to Wiesbaden to discuss the entire matter at breakfast with Eisenhower's chief of public relations, Colonel Fitzgerald, whom Mason had known in Washington when Mason was a Special Assistant to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. Fitzgerald was flying to Berlin that morning for a meeting which Eisenhower would attend, and Mason felt that if Fitzgerald told Eisenhower about the plot against Patton, Eisenhower would better be able to resist pressure from the "small but vociferous group of newspapermen led by PM with the Stars and Stripes echo." He gave Fitzgerald copies of his letter to Howard, with the other addresses listed, and of an unaddressed memorandum he had written and checked for accuracy with Deane, Huss, and Deane's assistant, Lieutenant Paul S. Gauthier. At lunch Mason saw Brigadier General R. B. Lovett, Eisenhower's adjutant general, and handed him copies of the same documents.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Codman, September 25, 1945

I am again at one of those critical periods when I may be sent home in a hurry at any moment.

You certainly aren't missing much by not being here.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 25, 1945

If the Devil and Moses had gotten together to plan for an early

and certain resumption of hostilities, they could not have produced a finer document than the attached ["Army Talks"].

As always among allies, it is a compromise but Russia did the least compromising since Russia knows what she wants (world conquest) and the rest don't.

[Son] George need not worry about missing a war. The next is on the way.

Diary, September 25

After supper I received a telegram from General Eisenhower stating that I had been accused of differing with him in the conduct of the de-Nazification of Bavaria and asking me to fly up either Wednesday or Thursday, whenever the weather permitted.

It may well be that the Philistines have at last got me. On the other hand, every time I have been in serious trouble or thought I was, it has turned out to my advantage. At least, this time I do not have to go on the defensive.

Telegram, Eisenhower to GSP, Jr., September 25, 1945

Press reports make it appear that you and I are of opposite conviction concerning method to be pursued in denazification of Germany and that in spite of repeated orders, you have given public expression to your own views on the matter. I simply cannot believe that these reports are accurate, and Smith tells me that in a telephone conversation with you he understood, in spite of the poor connection, that you stated you were incorrectly quoted. He tells me also that you are holding a press conference immediately to straighten out the matter. I hope you are completely successful because this question is a very serious one . . . Please take the first opportunity to fly up here on a good weather day and see me for an hour.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 26, 1945

It may be that I will get home as soon as this. You are even now probably being bothered by reporters.

The whole thing is a deliberate mis-quote with the intent of getting me in trouble because I am not "pink." . . .

If Ike etc. don't like what I do, they can relieve me. Then I will resign, not retire, and can tell the world a few truths which will be worth having.

DD asked me to see him to day but I said it would have to be to-

morrow. I am going shooting to day with Betois [Bethouard]. Must start now.

Diary, September 26

Weather conditions prevented my flying to Frankfurt, and I was very glad of this as I had three times refused General Beth[o]uard's invitation to go chamois hunting.

Major Merle-Smith and I left by car . . . crossed the border . . . and were met . . . We transferred into peeps . . . My guide had remarkable eyes and could see chamois where I could find them with high powered field glasses. I had one shot at about three hundred yards with the Springfield .06 with the sniper's sight. I was all right for windage but about a foot low.

We . . . stopped in a native's house to let a snow storm pass. I noticed the man was limping and asked what was the matter. Since I do not know German I had to guess at his reply but it seemed to me that he had cut his foot with an axe and that it was nearly rotted off. We got the first-aid kit out of the peep and repaired his foot. We then walked for about two hours and a half in the snow and rain but saw no chamois . . .

We then drove to a swiss chalet which I have a sneaking suspicion belonged to the former Emperor of Austria, and had a very good French dinner, including oysters which I had to eat without dressing — not me, the oysters.

After dinner General Beth[o]uard presented me with a really extremely handsome 8 mm. Mauser rifle with set trigger and telescopic sight. Unquestionably he had stolen it but he must have stolen it from a gun store as it was perfectly new.

On that day, September 26, USFET promulgated Military Law Number 8. It read: "In order further to diminish the influence of Nazism in Germany," there was to be no employment for members of the Nazi party or affiliate organizations except as ordinary laborers.

On the same day, at 11 A.M., Bedell Smith met with reporters at Frankfurt-am-Main. Among them were Daniell, Levin, and Morgan.

Smith opened with a brief statement of Eisenhower's occupation policies. No subordinate, Smith added, would dare "ignore or vitiate" Eisenhower's orders or subvert his program.

"Tell us, General," a reporter said, "whether you think that program

can be carried out by people who are temperamentally and emotionally in disagreement with it."

"I don't think," Smith replied, "we have anybody who is temperamentally or emotionally in disagreement with it."

Question: Wouldn't General Patton's statement indicate that . . . ?

Smith: No.

Question: General Smith, are you familiar with General Patton's statement on Saturday?

Smith: I am familiar only with the press reports . . .

Question: . . . He said that this Nazi thing is just like a Democratic Republican election fight. For this reason, he said, he personally never has seen the necessity for the de-Nazification program . . .

He said he didn't know what reactionaries were, but he did ask, "What do you want — a lot of Communists?" . . .

And then he said that Germans are innocent of Nazism until proven guilty, and then the fragebogens . . . he said, "What the hell is a fragebogen? I don't know what that means." . . .

He said that 98% of the Nazis were only pushed into it anyway.

Smith: . . . General Patton is a soldier and will carry out his orders.

Question: . . . There are still a few Nazis carrying on a deliberate program of sabotage, withholding fragebogen, slowing them up —

Smith: Are you sure of that — I mean, can you support that statement? Because if you can, it is very interesting, it will be helpful to us. I count on you to help us in what goes on here and I act on things that you tell me.

Question: I would be in a pretty weak position to support it, frankly, but —

Smith: Now, I act on things like that that you tell me . . .

General Patton will be up here sometime next week to give an account of his stewardship with General Eisenhower.

Question: Is that on the record?

Smith: You may say he is making a report to General Eisenhower as to the present state of Bavaria . . .

A reporter pointed out that families of high-ranking Nazis were still living in luxurious homes, that the daughter of Frank, the notorious governor of Poland, was occupying a large house containing much loot and even working for the U.S. Army, and that other such instances existed.

"When you run into things like that," Smith said, "slip it to me, will you?"

The point was, a reporter said, Patton had expressed "views in direct contradiction to everything he was asked to carry out."

It was "quite wrong," Smith admitted, for a subordinate of Eisenhower's to do that.

More to the point, a reporter said, Patton's "political opinions have filtered down to his junior officers."

"That is the great danger," Smith said.

It was Patton's "incompatibility" with Eisenhower's directives that bothered the newspapermen.

"Well, what you say," Smith admitted, "is very interesting."

Smith himself, he went on to say, was not nearly so concerned about political parties or institutions with Nazi antecedents in Bavaria — they were "easy to eliminate." He was concerned with the "very strong ultra conservative party in Bavaria, and I say that advisedly, being a Catholic myself." That group was no "excrescence like the Nazi party," but it was deeply rooted in the region. Schaeffer, the Minister-President of Bavaria, was no Nazi; he was "ultra conservative."

Schaeffer, a reporter suggested, had offered to resign "because his Nazis were kicked out."

"Has he really offered to resign?" Smith asked.

"We were told he had."

"Well," Smith said, Schaeffer had talked about resigning but never had.

According to Colonel Dalferes, Patton's G-5, a reporter said, Dalferes had Schaeffer's resignation in writing and could use it any time he wished.

Getting back to the main point, wasn't it true that Patton's statements on denazification were "in direct contradiction" to those of Eisenhower?

"It depends, fellows," Smith replied, "on how you read it and how you interpret the intentions in the ideas of the individual . . . Possibly I have been naive, but . . . Patton will carry out his orders . . ."

The reporters said they doubted that Patton knew "anything about politics" and they objected to his "double talks." In conferences with the press, Patton said he supported Eisenhower's instructions "to the fullest extent"; then he reverted to a completely different point of view.

"Well," Smith said, "let's . . . see what his actions are."

The "smart Nazis," the reporters suggested, were "playing a clever

game by allying themselves with the Bavarians," the ultra-conservatives, and this discouraged the "social democratic and left wing parties," particularly since "we" — the Americans — "are doing everything that we can to make the Bavarian Peoples Party as strong as it can be."

"Well," Smith said, "we shouldn't do that. That is the reactionary party."

Question: . . . how will that affect our relationship with Cardinal Faulhaber? . . .

Smith: I don't know. I don't have any idea.

Question: . . . The Cardinal . . . didn't want any playing with the Social Democrats.

Smith: Well, it's entirely within his prerogative, of course.

Question: But it's defeating our purpose . . .

Smith: . . . We are not going to interfere with the freedom of religious worship . . .

Question: I think the discussion is confused.

Taking another tack, the questioner asked whether it would be healthy if the Americans could accomplish all their occupation aims by using Nazis "who very subtly had played along with you" and remained in the background but in actual control.

Smith: Well, the statement you make is completely incompatible. If I say that you have accomplished the orientation . . . toward Western ideals and democracy, it's inconceivable with Nazis in the saddle. Can you reconcile that?

Question: Well, no, except, General, that what you have down there is exactly that . . . What you have is a lot of machinery that is working, but it is working with Nazis.

Smith: I don't quite understand you. I'm afraid I'm obtuse.

But he was sure that Bavaria would become democratized and that that could not be done with Nazis remaining in control. In any event, it was clear that "we are in the process of de-Nazifying." The real argument, he continued, was over "how effectively it is being carried forward." Smith's answer to his own question was that "I am not prepared to state that it has been carried out effectively in every case." What he suggested

was that everyone wait a week and see whether there wasn't a "marked improvement."

"Has the War Department asked General Eisenhower for a report on this question?"

"No," Smith said, "they have a great deal of confidence in General Eisenhower, I think."

Smith was somewhat shaken. And on that note the conference ended. It was hardly one of Bedell Smith's best performances.

According to an unsigned memorandum among the papers of Frederick Ayer, the transcript of Bedell Smith's press conference clearly showed that Daniell, Levin, and Morgan put into effect

a definite scheme to undermine and discredit General Patton. Their method was to sow seeds of doubt as to whether or not General Patton was loyal to General Eisenhower . . .

Many influential United States citizens feel that there exists today a well organized group with definitely laid plans to bring discredit upon the Army and Navy; and that General Patton having news value, like General M[a]cArthur, was one of the first to feel the effect of their venom, and that later this group will attack others, for instance General Bradley, General Eisenhower, and perhaps certain high ranking Naval officers. It is highly probable that Mr. Levin, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Daniels are tools of this group but definite proof of this is at present lacking.

Mason had no doubts. In a letter to Frederick Ayer, he later wrote:

The Daniell-Levin-Morgan plot to destroy Patton . . . was successful [because] Bernstein of PM was the most powerful force in Germany in 1945 because he had the support of Harry Dexter White and Henry Morgenthau . . . Laughlin Curry, David K. Niles, and Alger Hiss.

Edward P. Morgan, "Patton is Called on Carpet," Des Moines Tribune, September 26, 1945, page 1

General Eisenhower has summoned Gen. George S. Patton, Jr., to Frankfurt to give an accounting of his "stewardship" as military governor of Bavaria.

This action follows Patton's statement . . . that he saw no need for

a sweeping de-Nazification program in Germany . . . The famous combat soldier is being called on the carpet to explain the situation in Bavaria, where a German political scandal of major proportions is brewing . . .

Some leading American newspapers have demanded Patton's removal on the basis of his now celebrated Saturday interview at which he revealed that many of his views clashed with the declared American policy of ruthlessly purging Nazis from any and all important positions in Germany, either public or private . . .

Patton's remarkable comment to reporters that the Nazi question was as simple as a Democratic-Republican election scrap at home . . . may be enough to detonate an explosion in Bavarian politics, which, many observers think, already has been too long delayed — due to the general's own "reactionary" attitude . . .

The original American military government teams . . . were primarily concerned with getting some semblance of normalcy established; firing Nazis was a secondary consideration.

Since Bavaria is predominantly Catholic, they, not unsurprisingly, contacted individuals in the traditionally Bavaria's People's party.

But, while not out and out Nazis, a lot of these people including Schaeffer had managed to play along with them during Hitler's regime without suffering much personal damage . . .

They were far more afraid now that Bavaria would go left politically than they were of playing with individual Nazis . . .

Although this pattern was drawn before General Patton moved into the area as commander, his critics charge that he and his officers not only condoned but encouraged this state of affairs, which systematically and deliberately excluded Communists and Social Democrats from a large measure of Bavarian political life.

General Patton himself said . . . that "anarchy" might well be the alternative to the current regime and left no doubt that he had no use for "radicals" . . .

General Patton Tuesday indorsed [Eisenhower's] sentiments, but no sooner had he done so than he contradicted them . . .

It is such a policy of so-called expediency that the latest Eisenhower directives say clearly will not be permitted.

When Mason returned to the United States in November, he learned from Fletcher that Marshall wished to see him. On the following morning, "in order to serve the ends of truth and justice," Mason spent 90

minutes with Marshall discussing the whole affair. He left with Marshall a letter, dated November 4. In it he said that the service of the church in Leesburg that Marshall usually attended had as the scriptural lesson that morning, "Then went the Pharisees and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk." (Matthew XXII-15.) That sentence, Mason said, covered the Patton incident.

Three men and a woman, Mason continued,

came down to stage the Patton attack . . .

Then they went back to General Eisenhower's headquarters to entangle W. Bedell Smith . . . I would say that they succeeded with Bedell just about as well as they did with Patton, except that the press was asleep at the switch and apparently did not get the significance of the words finessed into Bedell's mouth. I say finessed because it is inconceivable that an officer of W.B. Smith's unusual intelligence and keen mind should have wittingly laid himself so wide open . . .

The remarks attributed to Bedell Smith that the Catholic conservatives . . . are of more concern and more troublesome than Nazis is about on a par with the remarks attributed to George Patton comparing Republicans and Democrats with the Nazis.

For surely Bedell Smith isn't setting the United States Army against Catholicism or conservatism per se in order to run interference, in a Kerensky role, for the Sovietizing of the American zone in Germany . . .

The United States Army is now building a record which will lay itself open to charges of having created such chaos as to make it appear that some of our representatives and officials deliberately desired to throw the American zone into ultimate Russian control.

In the meantime, while the Frankfurt high command seems to be immersed with and worried about political trends toward conservatism . . . the American forces in Germany have deteriorated as combat outfits far below any acceptable ordinary peace-time standards . . .

The Stars and Stripes is generally credited with much of the responsibility for bad morale . . .

The pressures on commanding officers are to coddle displaced persons, inspect Jewish camps and keep them happy, to explain soldiers' gripes to the B Bag column in Stars and Stripes, everything apparently except to reactivate quickly into first class fighting units the remnants of their outfits shattered by re-deployment . . .

With such a large number of the interpreter activities in the hands of German, Austrian, and Polish Jewish refugees, it is questionable whether adequate checks have been established to protect these refugees now in American uniforms, many as U.S. Army officers, from indulging in natural revenge for what they have suffered. Unfortunately, some of these recent refugees, who are now U.S. Army officers, are more versed in Gestapo methods than they are in American traditions.

In the mountains of the French zone of occupation, Patton was having a thoroughly enjoyable time.

Diary, September 27

We had breakfast at 0430 and, with a new guide, proceeded up a new canyon. We saw two groups of chamois which the guide determined by the use of a telescope contained no warrantable heads . . . driving down the valley when we saw a chamois . . . at a range of about 1,000 yards. We made a long stalk and when we got within 100 yards he saw us and ran away . . . Sgt. Terill pointed out another chamois on the opposite side. We made a quick stalk on him and fired from behind a rock at a range of 350 meters. I was very lucky in hitting him with the first shot of my new rifle . . .

The assault on me in the papers is still going on but is losing its steam.

Murphy had dinner with Patton and advised relieving Schaeffer as Minister-President but keeping him as Minister of Finance. He thought that the "setup in Bavaria" might be changed "from rightest leanings to more Social Democrats with a little lean to the left."

Patton said he had no brief for any of the Germans. They did what they were told to do. If anyone above Patton ordered anybody removed, Patton would see that he was "removed pronto."

He was talking big. For he knew he was out of his depth, and he felt vaguely that he was being victimized by those on the political right as well as by those on the political left. He also had a distinct impression that something important was going to happen on the following day when he went to see Eisenhower.

CHAPTER 42

The Relief

"Am I weak or a coward? Am I putting my posthumous reputation above my present honor? God how I wish I knew."

Diary, September 29

Yesterday the weather was unflyable so Merle-Smith and I left by car for Frankfurt . . .

As we drove along, I was following my practice of forty years in deciding how I would attack various positions that presented themselves in the changing landscape or how I would emplace troops for rear guard action in the same country when suddenly I realized that I had fought my last war and other people would have to be picking positions . . .

The ride reminded me of a similar one Codman and I took from Knutsford to London . . . when I was strongly of the impression I was going to be relieved and sent home — if not tried. I did not believe yesterday I would be tried, but I thought I might be relieved of command.

After a drive of seven and a half hours, we reached General Eisenhower's headquarters. Ike was quite friendly and gave me a long oration on my inability to keep my mouth shut. I told him that in this particular case the words I was said to have said had been deliberately altered.

It was strange, Patton's inability or unwillingness to hear and understand what he had said.

One curious thing came up in the course of the conversation. I was thinking yesterday that perhaps my greatest virtue and my greatest fault was my honesty and lack of ulterior motive. Ike said my greatest virtue and my greatest fault was my audacity.

He stated he was certainly at fault as much as I was in that, knowing my strength and weakness as he did, he should not have put me in as Military Governor. I told him it was my considered opinion that Bavaria was the best governed state in Germany . . . We had probably removed and de-Nazified better than any other state . . .

Ike said that had he possessed any adequate command for me at the time, he would have given it to me rather than have me act as Military Governor of Bavaria. He then was apparently struck with an idea, which probably was acting on his part, that since Gerow was going home, it might be a good idea to transfer me to the Fifteenth Army whose mission it is to write the account of the history and tactics of the war.

He talked about this . . . and said I might be criticized because I would be taking the place of a three-star General, although he too had been an Army commander.

I told him in my opinion I should be simply relieved, but he said he did not intend to do that and had had no pressure from the States to that effect.

I said then I thought I should be allowed to continue the command of the Third Army and the government of Bavaria.

He said he felt on mature thought I should certainly continue for ten days or two weeks and then he thought I should take command of the Fifteenth Army because, while he had complete confidence I would do my full duty as I understood it, I did not, in his opinion, believe in the policies being put into effect and that, while I would not have ever expressed these views to my staff, they had all absorbed them from me in the same way they absorbed my battle system.

At the present moment I am of two minds. If I am kicked upstairs to the Fifteenth Army, should I accept or should I ask for relief and put in my resignation? By adopting the latter course, I would save my self-respect at the expense of my reputation but, on the other hand, would become a martyr too soon. It is my belief that when the catchword "de-Nazification" has worn itself out and when people see it is merely a form of stimulating Bolshevism, there will be a flop of the pendulum in the opposite direction.

When that occurs, I can state that I accepted the job with the Fifteenth Army because I was reluctant, in fact unwilling, to be a party to the destruction of Germany under the pretense of de-Nazification. Further, that the utterly un-American and almost Gestapo

methods of de-Nazification were so abhorrent to my Anglo-Saxon mind as to be practically indigestible. Further, that I believe Germany should not be destroyed but rather rebuilt as a buffer against the real danger, which is Bolshevism from Russia.

These were illusions of grandeur and glory.

During the course of the interview, General Eisenhower brought in General Adcock, his G-5, and a Professor Dorn. Apparently the Professor is the person who provides Adcock with all his information. He is a very slick individual — I think a pure German, and very probably a Communist in disguise. I had great difficulty in not losing my temper with him, but knew that if I did, I would simply get more adverse reports than I already had.

Eisenhower also said during the conversation that several of his staff officers had reported to him that I had told them that I believed we should strengthen Germany because we were going to fight Russia in five years. The two staff officers who told him that were unquestionably Adcock and Bull, as I never made the statement to anyone else and only made it to them under the erroneous assumption that they were my friends.

Ike made the sensational statement that while hostilities were in progress, the one important thing was order and discipline, but now that hostilities were over, the important thing was to stay in with world public opinion — apparently whether it was right or wrong; I suppose on the same basis as Dacatur's famous remark: "My country, may she ever be right, but, right or wrong, my country." We could paraphrase that to "My public, may it ever be right but, right or wrong, my public."

Apparently Ike has to a high degree got the Messiah complex for which he can't be blamed as everybody bootlicks him except myself.

I asked the Professor what was the particular gripe on Fritz Schaeffer and found out he . . . had kept in his cabinet, in minor positions it is true, some twenty people (16 in Agriculture and 4 in Finance) who were mandatory cases for removal under our instructions.

General Eisenhower said he felt that no matter how much immediate removal of all Nazis from office adversely affected the administration of Bavaria, they should be removed because it was his experience that there was always some subordinate to take over the job of a

superior. In battle I believe this is true and it is probably true in Military Government. It is a strange thing that in battle I am perfectly willing to chop off heads but in peacetime my Anglo-Saxon ancestry makes me reluctant to remove people without due process of law. However, I shall carry out General Eisenhower's wishes to the letter and in the spirit also.

Since it was very evident from General Eisenhower's demeanor that we had to relieve Fritz Schaeffer, I asked him who he wanted for President. He said, "Ask Dorn," which I did and Dorn recommended a man named Dr. Wilhelm Hoegner. So I called Harkins at 6.30 and told him to remove Schaeffer, Lange, and Rattenhuber and all members of their ministries in any way tainted with Nazism regardless of the setback it would give to the administration of Bavaria and the resultant cold and hunger it would produce — not only for the Germans but also for the DP's. This seemed to make everyone happy except myself.

Ike was apparently very anxious that he should not seem too friendly with me because almost the first word he said was, "If you are spending the night, of course you will stay with me, but since I feel you should get back to Bad Tolz as rapidly as possible, I have my train set up to take you, and it leaves at 7.00 o'clock." It was then 6.30. I took the train.

When we left, we met in the hall the same group of correspondents who caused the trouble . . . Eisenhower asked them what they wanted, and they said they wanted a statement from him as to what we had been talking about. He said, "I have conferences with my Army commanders whenever I feel like it — period," and went by.

During the whole of the preceding interview Eisenhower was more excited than I have ever seen him, and I believe this can be traced to the fact that he is very much worried about the delay in getting appointed as Chief of Staff at home, and fears that if he stays here, he will lose some of his prestige. I think this fear is well grounded, but I do not believe that a fear psychosis should make him so utterly regardless of his better nature as to make him practically unmoral in his treatment of the Germans.

Harkins carried out Patton's order, and, on September 29, the Third Army announced that Hoegner had replaced Schaeffer. For many years no one knew for sure whether Schaeffer resigned or was dismissed.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, September 29, 1945

Your radio about asking for an official investigation . . . felt just like a look out of your brave loyal eyes.

At this time it is my belief that an investigation would be futile.

The noise against me is only the means by which the Jews and Communists are attempting and with good success to implement a further dismemberment of Germany. I think that if I resigned as I threatened to do yesterday, it would simply discredit me to no purpose . . .

This august lady [Fifteenth Army] . . . has the job of reviewing the strategy and tactics of the war to see how the former conformed to the unit plans and how the tactics changed. Were it not for the fact that it will be, so far as I am concerned, a kick up stairs, I would like it much better than being a sort of executioner to the best race in Europe.

Later, when people wake up to what is going on here, I can admit why I took the job.

Am I weak and a coward? Am I putting my posthumous reputation above my present honor? God how I wish I knew . . .

P.S. No one gives a damn how well Bavaria is run. All they are interested in now is how well it is ruined.

The newspapers in the United States at the end of September were full of stories about Patton's being in the doghouse again. According to many press accounts, the displaced persons in the Third Army area, many of them Polish Jews, were overcrowded, underfed, and underprivileged in the concentration camps until Eisenhower personally traveled to see them, read the riot act to Patton, and emphasized he meant what he said about ousting Germans from their homes if necessary to make victims of the war comfortable. Yet Germans, some of them Nazis, still entertained American officers in fine houses they were permitted to occupy. No German, it was alleged, could be kicked out of his house without the personal approval of Patton's chief of staff.

Eisenhower wrote Patton on September 29, and made known his decision to transfer Patton to head the Fifteenth Army, which was studying the lessons of the European campaigns. Truscott was to have the Third Army. Eisenhower planned to make no advance announcement of the change. Insisting that he continued to admire Patton's loyalty, ability, and soldierly qualities, Eisenhower said he believed simply that Patton's particular talents were more suited to the new job.

Truscott, on his way home from Italy, had stopped in Frankfurt briefly to pay his respects to Eisenhower, and when Truscott reached Paris, he found a message from Eisenhower calling him back to Germany.

Diary, September 30

Beedle Smith called up about 1:30 yesterday and read me a letter from General Eisenhower which he said General Eisenhower had directed him to read.

It told of Patton's replacement by Truscott.

So, another die has been cast and probably for the best, as I am sure that hell is going to pop soon in this government business and trust I can avoid detection until [his relief] on the 8th.

Lucian Truscott . . . I am sure will do as good a job as he can in an impossible situation.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 1, 1945

In my present frame of mind, the outstanding thing is the difference between Harry [Stimson]'s attitude in instantly backing George [Marshall] and the lobster like agility with which the high command over here backs water when any of us are attacked.

In a sense I am glad to get out, as I hate the roll we are forced to play and the inethical means we are required to use.

All the troops are going down hill at a wonderful rate and are practically all recruits.

All military governments are going to be targets from now on for every sort of Jewish and Communistic attack from the press.

My self esteem would be better had I simply asked for immediate retirement but then any thing I said in the future could be attributed to revenge . . .

At the moment I feel pretty mad.

Diary, October 1

I left the office at 1330 for the purpose of visiting the DP camps . . . At Feldafing . . . we inspected the camp and found material improvement since I visited it with General Eisenhower . . .

However, considerable remains to be done, primarily because the Jewish type of DP is, in the majority of cases, a sub-human species without any of the cultural or social refinements of our time. They prefer to live in densely populated buildings, the sexes indis-

criminally mixed. In consonance with the wishes of General Eisenhower, we had removed German families . . . and on last Friday directed the transfer of the DP's into these houses. Here we met with two peculiar resistance movements. First, in the majority of cases, they preferred to stay where they were. Second, Saturday and Sunday were the dates of a Jewish festival for taking in the harvest. Why this festival is celebrated by a group of persons who, so far as I know, have never engaged in agricultural pursuits, I do not know. However, in view of the festival, they flatly refused to move, unless we used force, prior to Monday because they had to get ready for the celebration on Friday . . .

Again we ran into the sub-human characteristics of these people in that they do not understand toilets and refuse to use them except as repositories for tin cans, garbage, and refuse . . .

We drove to Welfratshausen . . .

The UNRRA woman in charge of the local UNRRA group there has done an excellent job, but called my attention to the fact that the portion of the camp still occupied by Estonians was far better policed than that occupied by the Jews. I instructed the camp commander that the Jewish inhabitants were to be made responsible not only for the houses in which they live but also for the ground adjacent which, at the time of my visit, was covered with trash. I further stated that if they failed to comply, their rations would be stopped until they had done so.

The UNRRA woman informed me without solicitation that the Estonians detailed to cut wood for the camp cut four times as much wood per day as did the Jews. She believes, and I think with some show of veracity, that the Jews are in a psychopathic condition which may be materially improved, although personally I doubt it. I have never looked at a group of people who seem to be more lacking in intelligence and spirit. Practically all of them had the flat brownish gray eye common among the Hawaiians which, to my mind, indicates very low intelligence.

The cooking and hospital facilities in the village were of a superior character and the Jewish doctors in charge seemed to be men of very high personal and technical capacity . . .

Owing to the cooler weather, the smell of the inhabitants was below average but still extremely nauseating to western nostrils. It is an unfortunate fact that the people at home who are so vociferous in their demands for the betterment of the Displaced Jews have no

conception of the low mental, moral, and physical standards of the objects of their solicitude . . .

So far as it is humanly possible, it is my purpose, and I shall strongly recommend it to General Truscott, to see that the density of population per house among the DP's and the German inhabitants is comparable. The result of this policy will be that should the German people ever rise from the state of utter degradation to which they have now been reduced, there will be the greatest pogrom of the Jews in the history of the world.

I believe the Jews realize this and probably for that reason are reluctant to move out of the camps . . .

In thinking over the situation, I could not but be impressed with the belief that at the present moment the unblemished record of the American Army for non-political activities is about to be lost. Everyone seems to be more interested in the effects which his actions will have on his political future than in carrying out the motto of the United States Military Academy, "Duty, Honor, Country."

I hope that after the current crop of political aspirants has been gathered, our former tradition will be restored.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Handy, October 2, 1945

From a personal standpoint the new assignment is more in keeping with my natural academic tendencies than is that of governing Bavaria, but I naturally regret being relieved, however graciously, under circumstances which will be considered detrimental to my reputation.

Diary, October 2

The portrait [of himself] has at last been finished . . .

Just as I was about to go home at five o'clock, the telephone rang and General Eisenhower told me . . . that information of the ensuing change in command had leaked in Berlin and that therefore it might be necessary for him to make the announcement at noon tomorrow . . .

I said I could not see that that made any difference . . .

After the conversation terminated, Colonel Harkins, who had listened to it, said the only person who could have let it spill in Berlin was Mr. Murphy. I said no, Mr. Murphy I would trust, but I did not trust Beedle Smith. This is interesting as showing how guileless I still am because on the way home the truth suddenly dawned

on me that Eisenhower is scared to death, which I already knew, and believes that a more prompt announcement of my relief than the one he had originally planned will be beneficial to him. The alleged leak is nothing but a figment of the imagination which is a euphemism for a damned lie.

On the advice of Major Deane, we are going to have the INS and UP correspondents in at eleven o'clock as they are probably the only loyal ones we have left, if any correspondents can be so termed.

His statement to the press was tame. He repeated that he was as responsible for the deaths in battle of as many Germans as "almost anyone," but he would be un-American if he did not try to prevent unnecessary deaths after the war was over.

I called up General McBride . . . [on] the density of population. He said the chief difficulty of carrying out my instructions would be the fact that it would be necessary to use force in order to get the Jews to separate themselves.

He also told me he had visited another camp which he thanked God the correspondents had not seen, where, although room existed, the Jews were crowded together to an appalling extent and in practically every room there was a pile of garbage in one corner which was also used as a latrine. The Jews were only forced to desist from their nastiness and clean up the mess by the threat of the butt ends of rifles.

Of course I know the expression "Lost tribes of Israel" applied to the tribes which disappeared — not to the tribe of Judah from which the current sons of bitches are descended. However, it is my personal opinion that this too is a lost tribe — lost to all decency.

Editorial, "The Punishment of Gen. Patton," Cincinnati Times-Star, October 3, 1945

The drastic penalty inflicted upon Gen. Patton . . . will shock most Americans, though it will probably delight those leftist commentators who have lately been hounding the great tank commander with all the venom of a Goebbels.

Patton was admittedly indiscreet in making his "unfortunate analogy" . . . But it should have been obvious that Patton did not mean what he seemed to say . . .

Without blaming Eisenhower, it must be said that the drastic

punishment of Patton, in view of the occupation mess in Germany, has the effect of making the man a scapegoat.

On the same day John O'Donnell in his column "Capitol Stuff" carried by the New York *Daily News* published a rumor that purported to tell why Patton was a "scapegoat." Drew Pearson's report of the slapping incident had failed to reveal that the soldier slapped was of Jewish descent and that Patton called him a yellow-bellied or yellow-streaked Jew. Thus, behind the drive to disgrace Patton was a cabal, the members of which included Felix Frankfurter, David Niles, Sidney Hillman, Henry Morgenthau, and others, who never forgave Patton for making derogatory references to his victim's Jewish origins. Patton's mishandling of the occupation in Germany gave his enemies the opportunity to have Patton removed.

Repeating his accusations on the following day, O'Donnell added that Patton's dismissal showed how powerful "this republic's foreign-born political leaders" were.

Two weeks later, on October 19, O'Donnell published an apology for his statements and a retraction. Although he mentioned only Kuhl and not Bennett, the two soldiers whom Patton slapped on different occasions, O'Donnell admitted that Kuhl was not Jewish but a member of the Nazarene Church. He also publicly regretted having said that Jewish leaders were behind Patton's removal.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Codman, October 4, 1945

I presume that . . . you have . . . been considerably perturbed by the scurrilous attacks made on me by the non-Aryan press . . .

However, that too will pass, and I think probably the reaction will be as beneficial as was that following our friend Drew Pearson's asseverations . . .

Today I am performing with my usual efficiency my duties as undertaker at my own funeral and am at the moment sitting at a perfectly cleaned up desk . . . Actually, while I regret being relieved for what amounts to cause or rather, perhaps, to a lack of guts — not on my part though — from the Third Army, it may all work out for the best . . .

So far as the Jews are concerned, they do not want to be placed in comfortable buildings . . .

I am really very fearful of repercussions . . . and I am certain we

are being completely hood-winked by the degenerate descendants of Ghengis Khan . . . The envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness in Europe passes belief.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 5, 1945

Like William Jennings Bryan, "My head is bloody but unbowed." All I regret is that I have again worried you.

I have been helping Lucien to get the hang of the show and he feels rather depressed. I don't blame him.

I was terribly hurt for a few days but am normal again.

Diary, October 7

Owing to the rain, we decided to have the transfer of command ceremony in the gymnasium. The four corps commanders, Robertson, Harmon, McBride, and Prickett, assembled on the stage before we got there. On the right were the national colors, on the left the colors of the Third Army, while behind in the middle were the General's and Lieutenant General's flags.

At exactly noon Truscott and I, followed by Brigadier General Carleton [Truscott's chief of staff] and Colonel Harkins, entered and marched on the platform. The command, consisting of a company of MP's, most of the clerks, and all of the officers of both Forward and Rear Headquarters, was then presented and four ruffles and four flourishes were played.

I then made a speech . . .

GSP, Jr., Speech to the Officers and Men of the Third Army on the Occasion of his Leaving

General Truscott, Officers, and Men: All good things must come to an end. The best thing that has ever come to me thus far is the honor and privilege of having commanded the Third Army.

The great successes we have achieved together have been due primarily to the fighting heart of America, but without the coordinating and supply activities of the General and Special Staffs, even American valor would have been impotent.

You officers and men here represent the fighting, the administrative, and the supply elements of this Army. Please accept my heartfelt congratulations on your valor and devotion to duty, and my fervent gratitude for your unwavering loyalty.

When I said that all good things come to an end, I was referring

to myself and not to you because you will find in General Truscott every characteristic which will inspire in you the same loyalty and devotion which you have so generously afforded me.

A man of General Truscott's achievements needs no introduction. His deeds speak for themselves. I know that you will not fail him.

Goodbye and God bless you.

Auld Lang Syne was [then] played. At the termination of this piece, the Color Bearer with the Colors of the Third Army approached me. I took the Colors from him and handed them to General Truscott, saying I could think of no more worthy recipient. General Truscott took them and handed them back to the Color Sergeant who withdrew to his former post.

The Command was again presented, and three ruffles and three flourishes were played in honor of General Truscott. Following this, he made a short speech, which I could not hear as he was very emotional and shouted too loud into the machine. I think he was very much perturbed at taking over the command. Of course, he had nothing to do with this and was simply carrying out orders.

After this, the band played the Third Army March.

We then left the gymnasium together and while we walked out the band played "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

All the Generals and the heads of General and Special Staff Sections assembled in the Officers Dining Room, where we had some cocktails and highballs. After this the Senior Officers had place cards at a table where we had a lunch and quite a few speeches.

I left at exactly 2.30 and was accompanied to the Third Army train by General Truscott. We pulled out at 3.00 o'clock.

There was an escort in the headquarters quadrangle. Troops lined the road all the way to the railroad station.

George Fisher's recollection:

The skies were dripping . . . when Patton officially turned over the command, so the formal ceremony was staged in the spacious Bad Tolz gymnasium. The General attended religious services that morning, as usual, after which he went directly to the gym. Nothing in his dress or bearing reflected the torture of his soul as he stepped forward to hand over the symbol of his command. "All good things must come to an end" was the burden of his brief remarks.

The luncheon that the headquarters mess officer spread out that noon really deserved a better appetite than most of us could muster. All the old corps and division commanders who could be found were there. Their testimonies varied in length but no wise in sincerity. Some thoughts strayed to George Washington and [his farewell address at] Fraunces' Tavern. [Chaplain] O'Neill may have remembered the Last Supper.

Along about midafternoon Patton had had enough. He arose, squared his shoulders, and moved resolutely off to his waiting car.

A week later, in his first press conference, Truscott said:

I have left too many white crosses across North Africa, Italy, and France, and I have seen too many young men wounded and maimed not to be in complete sympathy with any policy that designs to eradicate, root and branch, the evil force, Nazism, that loosed this holocaust on the world.

CHAPTER 43

Fifteenth Army

"I hate to think of leaving the Army but what is there?"

Diary, October 8

The train reached Bad Nauheim around 5.30 this morning. After breakfast General [Leven] Allen came to pick me up at 8.30 as had been arranged, and we drove at once to the office of the Fifteenth Army.

Allen gave me a good orientation [on the mission of the headquarters] . . .

I spoke to the Chiefs of the various sections telling them I proposed to make no changes for one week and that the best is the enemy of the good, by which I mean that something now will be better than perfection when it is too late to have any influence.

Mr. McDermott of the AP called, and I talked to him in the presence of General Allen and Lt. Lynch and, most of the time, Major Merle-Smith.

A stenographer took notes of the interview and recorded that Patton said:

My friend, I know nothing in a big way . . . I got here this morning . . . and at present I am completely bemused. There is an awful lot [of headquarters reports and studies] to be read [by me]. I have got to get some eyedrops. It is the most essential piece of equipment. This [assignment] is right down my alley because I have been a student of war since I was about seven years old . . .

(Off the record) I felt that perhaps I had not had quite a square deal because I believe it will be proven that Bavaria is more de-Nazi-fied and more reorganized than any section of Germany . . .

I had the same sentimental attachment to the I Armored Corps and the Seventh Army [as to the Third Army] . . .

If a man has done his best, what the hell [more] is there? I consider that I have always done my best . . . [My] conscience is clear . . .

Anyone who says there won't be a future war is a God damned fool . . .

I won't discuss American-Russian relations.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Truscott, October 8, 1945

Please let me thank you very much for your nice remarks yesterday and for all the arrangements for my departure. I sent the train back this morning.

So far, I have just got to the point of being wholly confused as to what is going on in this job.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 10, 1945

This is very much like . . . the old Historical section in Washington. We are writing a lot of stuff which no one will ever read.

The Fifteenth Army was a paper organization in more than one sense. The headquarters controlled no troop units except those necessary for its own housekeeping. And it had as its sole mission the preparation of historical and analytical studies on the tactics, techniques, organization, and administration of the war in Europe. Committees of officers wrote Theater or General Board Reports, as they were known, on a variety of subjects. Some were excellent. But the typed and mimeographed pages inevitably grew into mountains of paper.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 11, 1945

I hate to have you feel so badly about this last incident.

The whole thing is utterly unjust and the result of poor "Fear of They" . . .

Thanks for the clippings but I don't read them. It does no good and keeps me awake at night.

The thing will change and I will be away out in front.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 12, 1945

DDE is full of friendship. We are dining ensemble this evening.

Diary, October 13

John Eisenhower told his father yesterday that since I had taken over the Fifteenth Army, people had begun to work.

During the course of the dinner which I had with Eisenhower on a purely social basis, I stated to him that I could not hereafter eat at the same table with General Bedell Smith. Eisenhower said that Smith said he had been misquoted and wished to apologize. Eisenhower was also quite anxious for me to run for Congress — I presume in the belief that I might help him.

To avoid having correspondents constantly telephoning about his feelings toward future wars and to prevent his being misquoted, Patton sent a statement to Eisenhower's public relations officer:

I have studied and practised war all my life. Therefore I am utterly opposed to it but I am not an ostrich . . .

I am firmly convinced that we must have a universal training because the one hope for a peaceful world is a powerful America [with] . . . adequate means to instantly check aggressors.

Unless we are so armed and prepared, the next war will probably destroy us. No one who has lived in a destroyed country can view such a possibility with anything but horror.

To scotch a rumor that Patton might run for Congress, he sent another statement for release to the newspapers:

I am a soldier, have always been a soldier, belong to no political party, and have never even voted. I am not interested.

He was avidly reading anti-Russian literature, including letters from witnesses who described the horrors of life in the Soviet Union as well as various Communist plots and conspiracies designed to overwhelm the decent people of the world. Patton was fascinated.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 15, 1945

People don't work here on Sundays so Saturday late I went to spend the night with Everett . . . Sunday we went to a football game . . . Ike was there and they put me right next to him. As usual a lot of soldiers with cameras, several hundreds, came and wanted to take pictures but the MP's would not let them get close, so Hughes suggested that Ike let them come up. Instead he decided to go down in front near them. He waved his hand and "grinned" and they took

a few pictures and he came back but the soldiers did not leave and presently they began to shout we want Patton, so I went down and there was really an ovation. Lots of film was used up.

Then Ike came down a second time and we posed together . . .

Ike is bitten with the presidential bug and is also yellow. He has convinced him self that he did me a favor by getting me out of the really grave risks entailed by being a governor.

He will never be president! . . .

I will resign when I have finished this job which will be not later than Dec. 26. I hate to do it but I have been gagged all my life, and whether they are appreciated or not, America needs some honest men who dare to say what they think, not what they think people want them to think.

Joseph Wilner of Washington, D.C., who had lost two sons in the war, one a captain in Patton's command, telegraphed to make known his distress over the effect of O'Donnell's allegations on Patton's reputation. From his son's correspondence, he was certain that Patton had never made derogatory remarks about Jewish soldiers. Would Patton please reassure him on what could only be O'Donnell's misrepresentation of Patton's attitude?

Patton's response was rather stiff and official.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Wilner, October 15, 1945

I am glad to have the opportunity of categorically denying that I have ever made any statement contrary to the Jewish or any other religious faith. I am a sincere believer in the Supreme Being and have never interfered with or even examined into the religious or racial antecedents of the men I have the honor to command. My sole effort has been to provide victorious soldiers who can serve their country and defeat the enemy with the minimum loss to themselves. With appreciation of and thanks for your interest, I am, Truly yours,

Diary, October 16

General Keyes flew up from Heidelberg to see me. I think his sole reason was to express in a very refined manner, as is always the case with him, sympathy. I was delighted to see him as I think he is one of the pleasantest companions and most loyal friends I have ever known.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 17, 1945

I read against my better judgment the clippings Codman sent. I got physically sick. But cheer up. The reaction has started. I will come out on top sooner than people think.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 19, 1945

Fan mail has just started, also telegrams. I think things will come out for the best and may result in my getting lined up with the Anti-Communists because it is they and the Jews who are back of it and successful due to the lack of spine of DD.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Codman, October 18, 1945

My present plan is to finish this job, which is a purely academic one, about the first of the year and then submit my resignation after which I can do all the talking I feel like . . .

My private opinion is that practically everyone but myself is a pusillanimous son of a bitch and that by continued association with them I may develop the same attributes.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 20, 1945

I know I am right and the rest can go to Hell or I hope they can but it is going to be very crowded.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Harbord, October 22, 1945

I have been just as furious as you at the compilation of lies which the communist and semitic elements of our government have levelled against me and practically every other commander. In my opinion it is a deliberate attempt to alienate the soldier vote from the commanders because the communists know that soldiers are not communistic and they fear what eleven million votes [of veterans] would do.

It is owing to this fact that I have failed to raise any stink because, while I think General Eisenhower is most pusillanimous in yielding to the outcry of three very low correspondents, I feel that as an American it will ill become me to discredit him yet — that is, until I shall prove even more conclusively that he lacks moral fortitude. This lack has been evident to us since the first landing in Africa but now that he has been bitten with the presidential bee, it is becoming even more pronounced.

It is interesting to note that everything for which I have been criticized in the handling of Germans had been subsequently adopted:

to wit—I stated that if we took all small Nazis out of every job, chaos would result. Military Government the other day announced that from two to five per cent of Nazis would be kept in.

He cited other facts, for example, that he “had removed from or deprived of office 49,088 Nazis.”

All the general officers in the higher brackets receive each morning from the War Department a set of American headlines and, with the sole exception of myself, they guide themselves during the ensuing day by what they have read in the papers. Personally I never read these headlines because I have perfect confidence that I do my duty as I see it and I do not need to be told how to do it by a number of very low type individuals.

It is my present thought . . . that when I finish this job, which will be around the first of the year, I shall resign, not retire, because if I retire I will still have a gag in my mouth . . . I should not start a limited counter-attack, which would be contrary to my military theories, but should wait until I can start an all out offensive . . .

The great tragedy of my life was that I survived the last battle. It had always been my plan to be killed in this war, and I damned near accomplished it, but one cannot resort to suicide . . .

The study [here] was progressing with remarkable exactitude and no speed until I assumed charge . . .

I am convinced we should avoid the error we made at the end of the last war of taking this war as an approved solution for future unpleasantnesses. We must use this factual account simply as a datum plane from which to annually build a new set of jiggs and dies.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, October 22, 1945

Did I tell you that on the 25 Du Gall is giving me a medal of some sort. General Giraud came to see me to say that France was shocked to the heart at the treatment accorded the greatest soldier since Napoleon . . .

How can one expect any backbone in a man [already] running for President.

Diary, October 23

Tomorrow . . . flying to Paris for the purpose of lunching with de Gaulle . . . and being decorated . . . A letter from General Juin . . .

stated that France had always desired and that General de Gaulle, who represented France, also desired to decorate me for my pre-eminent part in the liberation of France but that, as a result of my recent change in command status, France was more than twice as anxious as before to do me honor.

Diary, October 25

To the Ministry of War . . . for a special luncheon given in my honor . . . by General de Gaulle . . . There were about 35 guests . . .

At the end of the luncheon . . . he compared me to everybody from Napoleon up and down. I replied . . . that the history of France's great leaders had always been an inspiration to American soldiers and that in the room there were the busts of two such leaders and also the living presence of two others. The busts were those of Turenne and Conde, and the soldiers were de Gaulle and Juin. Apparently this did a good deal to impress the President-General.

After lunch we went to the Invalides and . . . to the tomb of Napoleon, and . . . downstairs where people are not normally allowed. It was very impressive, and we all enjoyed it.

At 8.00 o'clock Merle-Smith and I dined with Juin . . . As usual Juin got on the question of the Russians whom he distrusts and fears as much as I do.

Nothing was scheduled for the following day, so he and Merle-Smith visited Notre Dame and Sainte Chapelle, “then drove to Versailles and had a quick look around. I had not been there since 1912, but it has not changed.”

On the 27th, he went to Rennes, where he met with dignitaries, drank champagne, attended a luncheon in his honor, and watched Breton folk dancing that ended with “a very fat and sweaty young girl [who] presented me with a large bouquet of flowers and then she demanded that I kiss her, and I found that she had certainly bathed recently because she tasted soapy.” With large crowds in attendance, he reviewed troops, listened to speeches by mayors who made him an honorary citizen of their towns, and gave a short address himself.

On to Angers for more champagne, an appearance on a balcony to wave to a “tremendous crowd,” and “the distinguished privilege of becoming a Citizen of Honor.” At the Franco-American Union, a woman talked exactly like the voice on his French-lesson phonograph records.

He met the daughter of his old friend General Houdemon, Madame Becourt Foch whose husband, the marshal's grandson, had been killed, he thought, "by my troops in Africa. Aside from mentioning this fact, she did not bring the question up." He must have misunderstood, for actually Becourt Foch had been in London with De Gaulle, flew with the RAF and later with the Free French, and was killed in a plane crash in 1944.

The ceremonies continued on the following day at Chartres, where Patton was welcomed at the city hall, taken on a tour of the city, and escorted to the cathedral for a mass attended by "at least 5000 people" and "many more outside yelling 'Vive Patton' — and some of them, to the scandal and disgrace of religion, started yelling in the Church." After lunch and a parade, Patton and his party returned to Paris.

I collected ten Citizen of Honor certificates, two plaques, and a tremendous case of indigestion . . . Went to the Folies Bergeres, which has gone steadily down hill since 1912.

"The whole damned world is going Communist," he wrote Beatrice. "The last US troops to leave Europe will be fighting a rear guard action." He thought it possible that "this last attack on me is another act of God definitely lining me up against the Reds." He had been in an automobile accident that had been reported in the press, but it "was nothing — just a bent fender, so your dream did not work."

Beatrice's dream, whatever it was, was premonitory but premature.

Patton too had dreamed that "when I got home you met me with your hair all shaved off but a scalp lock and your scalp painted white." He had to read so many Theater Board reports "that I am almost nuts." He mentioned the pleasant prospect of shooting grouse with Gay. "Destiny relieved me simply in a state of funk and because he has no moral courage."

"The staff is having a big party for me on the eleventh — what a sad day [to be sixty years old]."

Diary, November 2

In the Russian occupied zone the Russians materially augment the food allowances to all Germans who become Communists. This is reminiscent of Mohammed's method of securing Mohammedans . . . There is very little new under the sun . . .

The utter folly of the Potsdam Convention which contemplated the ability of four antagonistic nations, one of which is not even civilized, to govern by unanimous consent is . . . being admirably justified [in Berlin].

Letter, GSP, Jr., to son George, November 3, 1945

It is quite natural that my speeches should sound like Napoleon's because, as you know, I have studied him all my life. You are wrong in saying he fought a different type of war — he and I fought the same way but my means of progress were better than his.

On November 4, Patton issued what would be his final "Notes on Combat," ten single-spaced typed pages devoted to divisions and their organizations, formations, and tactics. Among his comments:

Violent and rapid attack with the marching fire is the surest means of success in the use of armor . . .

The length of a command is measured in time, not in miles . . .

A great deal has been written and a great many maps have been drawn to show where various units have gone during a war or a battle, but there is very little information available as to how they went or what formations were employed . . .

A cursory glance at the foregoing recommendations may lead to the belief that there is practically no difference between an infantry division and an armored division. The difference is very real and two fold. First, the purpose of the tanks in an infantry division is to get the infantry forward, while the purpose of the infantry in an armored division is to break the tanks loose.

Second, the mental characteristics of the commander of an infantry division who has to conduct the slow bitter slugging tactics essential to that arm may not, and probably will not, have the attributes essential to the commander of an armored division where rapidity of movement and reckless operation are the criteria of success . . .

In considering the foregoing or any other organizational scheme we must remember that it is simply the datum plane from which new ideas and new formations must be developed. The primary function of war has not within historic time been materially changed by the advent of new weapons. The unchanging principle of combat is to inflict on the enemy the maximum amount of wounds and death in a minimum of time and as cheaply as possible. If future leaders will

remember that nothing is impossible, that casualties received from enemy action in battle are a function of time and effective enemy fire, and that any type of troops can fight any place, they will not go wrong.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, November 5, 1945

I doubt that I will be home for Xmas but I fully intend to leave here shortly after the 1st of Jan. and we can have a belated celebration . . .

As everything I do gets in the press I had better tell you that I had a wart or some such thing cut out of my belly — the outside skin — this morning. It was done with a local [anesthetic] and only needed two stitches.

Diary, November 5

Yesterday while driving to Mannheim for a shoot and looking over the utter devastation of Frankfurt and Mannheim, it occurred to me that the only possible salvation for a country so completely destroyed as Germany is another Messiah — whether he serves God or the devil. Nothing conceivable could be more apt to bring back a Hitler than what we are doing.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Gerow, November 6, 1945

Owing to the rapid reduction of personnel due to redeployment and owing to the fact that the majority of people with adequate information are in America, we have decided that this Board's Report should be and probably will be completed by 1 January.

To receive a decoration, Patton drove to Brussels via Cologne, Aachen, and Liège, which he had never seen. Cologne and Aachen were badly destroyed, and he "kept wondering how Charlemagne would have felt about his former capital [Aachen], could he see it today, which he probably can." At the outskirts of Brussels, a motorcycle escort took him to the Embassy, where many Belgians were waiting "for the ecstatic privilege of seeing me."

We were met by a full Colonel wearing a DSM, who was nothing but a God damned interpreter in the last war and probably never heard a gun go off in anger.

The ceremony was very simple. I walked into a room where the

Ambassador and His Royal Highness were standing. HRH spoke excellent English and said he wanted to give me a medal, which he proceeded to pin on — namely, Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold and the Croix de Guerre of the same Order with Palm; also a Belgian 1940 Croix de Guerre with Palm. Either the Belgian protocol on decorations is wrong or the Prince is ignorant, because he pinned the sunburst on my left breast where, according to my understanding, only Grand Cross sunbursts should go.

"Well now I am a Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold," he wrote Beatrice, "one more sun burst. Also I got a bad cold."

Bernard Baruch wrote Patton that he resented the unfair criticisms being made against "a great soldier." He was sorry he had been unable to persuade the authorities to send Patton to the Pacific to fight the Japanese. He particularly regretted not having seen Patton during his visit to the United States, for he had wanted to warn Patton of some of the dangers of the occupation. He enclosed a newspaper clipping, which quoted Lieutenant K. E. Wallach of Galesburg, Illinois, who was recuperating from wounds in a hospital:

The attacks on General Patton as an anti-Semite sound strange to a Third Army soldier. Our general was on the record as knowing only good soldiers or bad soldiers and not soldiers of different religious preference . . .

It will be the pride of my life that I had the honor to serve under a man like General Patton.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Baruch, December 3, 1945

My sincere thanks for your nice letter . . .

I was particularly interested in the clipping . . . which is exactly in accordance with the facts. I cannot understand who had the presumption to attribute to me anti-Semitic ideas which I certainly do not possess.

With warm personal regards, and looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you on my return to America,

Adolph Goldsmith, "Old Blood and Guts Idol of his Men," Arkansas Democrat Sunday Magazine, Little Rock, November 16, 1945

Patton is a soldier's general. He did not ask his men to fight for him; he asked them to fight with him . . .

Much has been written about Patton's ruthlessness and disregard for the individual. True, he was daring, rough, and brutal, but so were his soldiers. They would not have defeated the Nazis if they had been otherwise. He expected the impossible from the Third Army — and got it.

You probably have read the incident when a higher general sent a message to Patton to bypass Trier, since it would require four divisions to take it. Patton answered, "Have taken Trier with two divisions. Do you want me to give it back?"

As for Patton's most recent transfer to the doghouse, we are as much confused as the American public. He certainly has no love for the Nazis . . .

The soldiers of the Third Army are practically unanimous in their belief that "their boss" got a d—ed rotten deal.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Goldsmith, December 4, 1945

I am deeply moved by the fact that one of my soldiers who, so far as I know, I did not have the pleasure of meeting personally should take this much interest in my career.

Kent Hunter, former public relations officer, wrote to say that he had talked with hundreds of Third Army soldiers since returning to civilian life. Their reaction to Patton was always the same: "Goddam that old sonofabitch! Wasn't he swell?"

On his birthday Patton wrote Beatrice: "For a man of my advanced age I feel fine and every one says I look the same way." He was sixty years old.

Several days earlier he had written to Beatrice:

In a day or so, Ike leaves and I command [the theater] — some joke — if he comes back I will just sit, if he don't I will have a grand house cleaning.

Beadle and I will have some fun any how. He has never apologized but sent word he had been misquoted. I have never seen him. In my hope he will be investigated by Congress.

Diary, November 13

In my capacity as Acting Theater Commander, I visited USFET Headquarters at Frankfurt and was present at the morning staff con-

ference . . . The gentleman representing the President on behalf of the Jews is apparently using grapevine methods to induce a large number of Polish Jews to migrate from Poland into Bavaria. Since these Jews have to cross two frontiers, it is very evident that they are being assisted by the Russians and Poles and Czechs who are probably as anxious to get rid of them as the Jews are to change domicile. It seems possible that the New Jerusalem may occur in Bavaria rather than in Palestine.

However, since I am simply pinch-hitting during the brief absence of General Eisenhower, I do not conceive it to be my duty to make any radical changes pending his return.

After the meeting I signed a number of court-martial cases and discovered that it is the policy of the Theater commander not to give death sentences to any American soldier accused of raping a German woman. This seemed somewhat at variance with Anglo-Saxon customs.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, November 15, 1945

It is very evident that Beadle really runs the show in so far as it can be said to be run . . . The chief interest seems to center on doing nothing positive and never going counter to what the papers say.

Some one proposes something and Beadle makes a speech against it and ends up by saying that while he is against it in principle he will go along with it just this once.

Of course since we don't get on and are pretty nearly on official terms, it is not very pleasant. But since Ike will be back — so it is said . . . I am not being much worse than a rubber stamp. If I had the job permanently — which God forbid — I would certainly drive things. It is not a Headquarters, just a chatequa. I go down there about three times a week mostly to sign court martial sentences.

Diary, November 16

I again visited USFET Headquarters at Frankfurt and at the Staff Conference brought up the point that in view of the critical housing shortage existing in Germany, which will unquestionably get worse, I doubted the expediency of blowing up factories, because the ends for which the factories are being blown up — that is, preventing Germany from preparing for war — can be equally well attained through the destruction of their machinery, while the buildings can be used to house thousands of homeless persons. I therefore directed

that inquiry be made to see if the machinery could not be removed and destroyed and the buildings made available for housing — the buildings to be destroyed in the spring, should it be found that the Control Commission believed such action necessary.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Frederick Ayer, November 17, 1945

I quite agree with you that we are getting not older but damned old in spite of the fact that I do not feel that way. It is therefore my firm determination to spend all the money which you can provide or which I can borrow, beg, or steal on a life of continued amusement as soon as I can get rid of my present job . . .

I further suggest that you look into the possibility of hiring, buying, or otherwise securing a quail shooting preserve in either Florida, Georgia, or the Carolinas . . .

I do propose to hunt six days a week in Virginia whenever I am not engaged in shooting or sailing.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to George Murnane, Jr., Syosset, New York, November 17, 1945

I do not consider the episode leading to my transfer to Fifteenth Army so much an attack on me as a lack of intestinal fortitude on the part of others. However, I feel that I have obligations to my profession which, for the time being at least, outweigh personal emotions and I therefore do not propose to take any personal action because I am convinced that just as in the case of the slapping incident and the Knutsford affair, the final reaction is more favorable to me than to the other parties.

Furthermore, and this is very frank and personal, there is one job which would cause me to contemplate remaining in the Army. This job would be President of the War College . . . Therefore, it would be inexpedient for me to start throwing my weight around until I find out.

I trust this does not shock your opinions of my high motives which, after all, are not too high.

Diary, November 17

The other day Beedle Smith brought up the fact that General Eisenhower will take a final farewell of his troops . . . The question of a proper farewell entertainment was discussed . . . I stated that we should go all out to make a very appropriate and solemn ceremony in order to honor the greatest General who had ever lived.

To day I have been working on my thoughts as to how to reduce the human expense of war by a judicious increase in mechanization. Americans, as a race, are adept in the use of machines, and also in the construction of machines. The people whom they will have to fight will be the Russians and the Japanese, neither of whom are adept . . . but both have a large manpower which they are willing to expend recklessly. It therefore behooves us to devise military formations which will exploit our natural aptitude for machines and at the same time save our somewhat limited and very valuable manpower.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, November 18, 1945

I hope to leave here by boat around the 1st of the year. I am going by boat so I can keep my numerous boxes of papers with me in my state room and not have them lost in transit . . .

At the moment retirement seems the only solution but we can never tell . . .

I really shudder for the future of our country.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Handy, November 23, 1945

I would like to ask some advice . . . What is your suggestion as to my personal course? . . . It would seem to me that the best thing I could do is ask for retirement. I am sincere in asking your advice because, as you know, I have a very high opinion of your ability.

What he was really asking Handy was, how good were his chances for becoming Commandant of the Army War College or of the new National War College?

Diary, November 23

Attended the meeting at USFET . . . was handed a telegram stating that General Eisenhower, owing to a cold, will not be able to return [from the United States] and that General McNarney was coming to the ETO to take command . . .

Prince Bernhard of Holland decorated a number of USFET officers, including . . . Lieutenant Summersby. The last was in a high state of nerves as a result of hearing that General Eisenhower is not returning.

Diary, November 25

To Metz . . . first to the house of General Dody, the Governor,

where we had champagne. We then went to the Mairie and from there walked to the Cathedral through quite a large crowd . . .

The service lasted a long time in a zero temperature, which gives some reason for the upper bracket clergymen wearing ermine capes . . .

We drove to the Town Square . . . walked around the troops . . . participated as a decoratee and decorator in a ceremony . . . a march past and then a luncheon which lasted four hours, with much oratory . . .

I was made a Citizen of Honor of . . . Metz, Toul, Reims, Luxembourg, Chateau Thierry, Saargeumines, Thionville, Eperney, and Verdun.

At the Mairie I met General Houdemon, and after the luncheon I drove him back to Pont-a-Mousson, where I met his wife and was presented by them with two much treasured porcelain figurines of the Grenadiers of Napoleon's Army, in which Houdemon's grandfather was a general. I tried to persuade them not to give them to me, but had no success.

Letter, Weyland to GSP, Jr., November 26, 1945

I feel that the Third Army has died. To me, the Third Army meant Patton. When you left it, it ceased to be a thing alive. In a way I'm glad — a fighting Army and a peacetime Army are two different things.

Harbord replied to Patton's request for advice by saying that he would feel bad if Patton resigned from the army, especially if he announced that he was doing so in order to be able to speak freely. The public would expect and listen for something sensational and, no matter how true the allegations that Patton might express, would be disappointed. The reaction was sure to be unfavorable to Patton in the long run. Besides, why would Patton, at that stage in his life, want to start a "backfire" against Eisenhower? Harbord thought that Patton should defer his decision until he came home and discovered what job he would have in the postwar Regular Army.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Harbord, November 26, 1945

Your advice is very good and, having gotten over my rage, I had almost reached the same conclusion myself . . .

I am not at all discouraged about the treatment I personally have received but I am terribly worried about the situation in America and in Europe . . . It may well be that V-E Day is misnamed and simply marked the beginning of a relatively short armistice. I bet Monty a hundred pounds to that effect and he gave me a ten-year limit, so I fear that his Scotch soul is worrying. I hope it is . . .

This afternoon I am leaving for Copenhagen and then Stockholm and then probably to a coffin as a result of acute indigestion from overeating.

Patton, Merle-Smith, Meeks, and Duncan departed Frankfurt on a special six-car train that he "considered quite unnecessary for four people." But he learned that it cost no more to move six cars than the two — formerly Hindenburg's — they actually occupied.

After a short stop in Copenhagen for a cocktail party at the American Embassy, he traveled to Stockholm, where he called on the King, had an audience with the Crown Prince, and lunched with Count Bernadotte. At the Olympic stadium he watched a special ice carnival and hockey game put on for him. Then with eight men who had competed with him in the 1912 Pentathlon events, the pistol shoot was re-enacted; Patton came in second.

There were ceremonies, visits, and dinners, and several times Patton noted in his diary that he "ate and drank steadily for some two hours." At various military installations he was impressed by a Swedish sub-machine gun, a field stove that had a combination chimney and tent pole, and an 81-mm. mortar. He would later recommend that the Ordnance Department in Washington look into these items.

At a banquet given by the Swedish-American Society, "which was the ostensible reason for my going to Stockholm," he addressed the 500 guests. He was distressed to receive

three telegrams and a letter from interned Baltics and Germans requesting my intervention to prevent their return to the Russians, where they very rightly anticipated elimination. I could do nothing about this.

Having returned to Copenhagen, where he had an audience with the King, Patton flew to Frankfurt. "It is my considered opinion," he later

wrote in his diary, "that anyone who can survive a trip to Metz and one to Sweden within a week is apt to live forever or die of a stroke." He loved it all.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Frederick Ayer, December 3, 1945

The main thing is that I wish to have sufficient money to be very extravagant for the next fifteen years because, as I told you, it is my intention to do that.

Diary, December 3

General Smith gave a luncheon for General McNarney, the new Theater Commander, at which were present all the youth and beauty of the ETO. With the exception of Generals Keyes, Truscott, Allen, Gay, and myself, and a limited number of others, I have rarely seen assembled a greater bunch of sons-of-bitches . . .

I had a good deal of fun at luncheon quoting from recent articles on the Military Government of Germany, which I had the forethought to take with me, and which removed the appetite from Bob Murphy and the new Commanding General . . . The trouble with both of them is that their answer is that they could not do anything about it as they were carrying out orders. My answer is that a man who receives a foolish order should not carry it out — but such is not the breed of cats in authority. It is certainly quite a criticism of our form of Military Government to find that the Deputy Theater Commander, General Clay, and the Theater Commander, General McNarney, have never commanded anything, including their own self-respect, or if that, certainly not the respect of anyone else.

The whole luncheon party reminded me of a meeting of the Rotary Club in Hawaii where everyone slaps every one else's back while looking for an appropriate place to thrust the knife. I admit I was guilty of this practice, although at the moment I have no appropriate weapon.

Had he known that this was to be his last entry in his diary, would he have ended thus in such bitterness and resentment?

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Cook, December 4, 1945

God willing, I shall leave this Theater sometime around the first of the year and I look forward to seeing you and having many long arguments.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Truscott, December 5, 1945

I expect to leave here on the 12th for a month's leave and therefore take this opportunity of bidding you goodbye and wishing you and all your staff a very merry Xmas.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Col. Harry Whitfield, Middleburg, Va., December 5, 1945

Your munificent present of cigars which I have stopped smoking arrived a few moments ago with the result that I have resumed smoking.

Please accept my sincere thanks and also look up a few reliable foxes because I expect to go hunting around the first of January.

Letter, GSP, Jr., to Beatrice, December 5, 1945

I just sent you a paragraph on the daily radio that I leave South Hampton on the USS New York, 45,000 ton battle ship on December 14 and should arrive where ever it lands on December 19. I have a months leave but don't intend to go back to Europe. If I get a really good job I will stay in [the army], otherwise I will retire . . .

I hate to think of leaving the Army but what is there?

We can get a chance at the visiting foxes any how . . .

I was going to shoot pigs to day but it was too snowy . . .

I may see you before you see this.

That was his last letter to Beatrice.

A USFET Order dated December 7, 1945, directed Patton to proceed on or about December 14 to Paris for subsequent air travel to the United States and a leave of absence of 30 days. He was authorized a baggage allowance of 165 pounds.

On December 8, Patton wrote his last letters — to Miss Coughlin of Brewer, Maine, and Miss Mary Jane Krieger of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, thanking them for their "constant support," clippings, and Christmas boxes; to Ed Fansler saying that he was "leaving in a day or two for thirty days leave in America"; and to Emil Ludwig of Switzerland thanking him for sending Patton Ludwig's article about him "which I very much enjoyed reading."

A prolific writer who had produced several best sellers, including a biography of Napoleon, Ludwig had come to visit Patton late in April, when the war was nearing its end. They talked, of course, and Ludwig

spent the night at the headquarters. Enchanted by Patton, he put his impressions into a short article that was beautifully done, perceptive, and gracious.

Ludwig found Patton "slim and elegant, the born gentleman in every movement, 'Grandseigneur' at his table, sportsman as he walks with a whip in his hand." His face was full of contradictions and as complex as his character. His eyes were critical. His mouth sometimes smiled, then suddenly became hard. He seemed to Ludwig like a gallant and high-strung horse at the gallop, unwilling to be reined. He was a poet, a Lord Byron, with imagination and pride "the governing traits of his nature." Above all, he was an artist of war, "a sort of genius."

"What made a great general?" Ludwig asked.

"Not to be beaten," Patton replied.

Great decisions, Patton said, were improvised. There was no strategy, only inspiration. Yet, inconsistently, he revealed that his plans for crossing the Danube had been made long in advance of the actual event.

Ludwig's sharp eyes photographed Patton during the war, during his glory, and no doubt this was the best time to see the general at his best.